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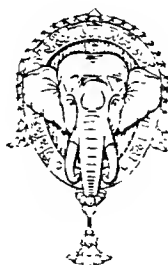
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THE  
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OF THE  
SIAM SOCIETY  
(JSS)

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## CONTENTS

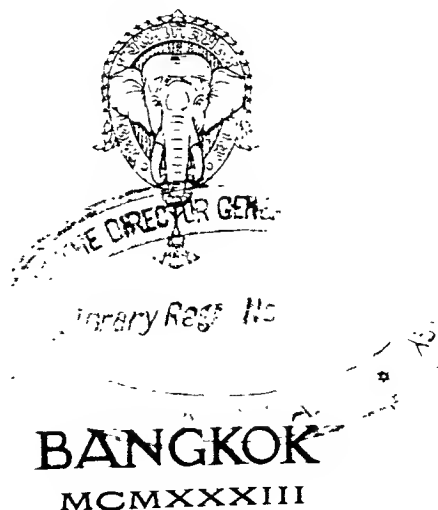
E. W. HUTCHINSON, The French Foreign Mission in Siam during the XVIIth Century	1
R. LINGAT, History of Wat Pavaranivega	73
BOOK REVIEWS,	
L'Esclavage privé dans le vieux Droit siamois par R. LINGAT (L. Duplatre)	103
Additional note to "A Siamese account of the construction of the Temple of Khao Phanom Rung" (E. SEIDENFADEN)	125
The Exchange List	129
Membership	133
His Majesty and the Society	141
H. H. PRINCE DHANI NIVAT, The Inscriptions of Wat Phra Jetubon	143
FRITZ SARASIN, Prehistorical Researches in Siam	171
A. KERR, Notes on a Trip from Prachuap (Kaw Lak) to Mergui	203
E. HUTCHINSON, Journey of Mgr. Lambert, Bishop of Beritus, from Tenasserim to Siam in 1662	215
Transcription from Siamese into Roman Characters	218A
BOOK REVIEWS,	
Yünnan Reise des Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yat Sen Universität, von PROFESSOR DR. WILHELM CREDNER. (Erik Seidenfaden)	233
Annual Report for 1932	237
Balance Sheet for 1931 and 1932	244
Membership	246



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(JSS)





# THE SIAM SOCIETY

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(FOUNDED 1904)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science  
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring  
Countries.

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Mgr. Pallu.

THE FRENCH FOREIGN MISSION  
IN SIAM  
DURING THE XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.

A LECTURE GIVEN BEFORE THE SIAM SOCIETY  
IN BANGKOK.

28th October, 1932.

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON.

Some years ago, an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* aroused my interest in the career of Constantine Phaulkon—a Greek, known to the Siamese as Chao P'ya Wichayen, who played an important part in the negotiations for an alliance between Siam and France which culminated in the French expedition to Bangkok at the end of P'ra Narai's reign.

During the years 1930 and 1931, I collected all the data bearing upon this subject which I could find in the libraries of Europe. The result has been to convince me that a key to the failure of the French adventure in Siam is to be found in the antipathies which existed in that country between the French Foreign Missionaries and the Jesuits between the years 1662 and 1688.

Although it may be admitted that but for the presence of the French Missionaries in Siam, the French adventure might never have occurred, nevertheless it is apparent that their connection with the expedition into which the adventure developed was just as fortuitous as the accident which caused their first establishment to be made in Siam instead of in China and Cochín-China, as was originally intended.

In this paper I propose to give a brief sketch of the origin of the French Foreign Mission and of its establishment in Siam, drawing upon two main sources:

a) An Italian account published in Rome in 1677 by the Propaganda Fidei, entitled "*Relazione delle Missioni dei Vescovi.....agli Regni di Siam de...*"

b) Two French Manuscripts, one at the Paris Archives Nationales,<sup>1</sup> the other from the pen of Fr. Verjus, S. J. at

1. Arc. Nat. M. 204.

the Quai d'Orsay.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the published works on this subject I have made full use of the letters and documents<sup>2</sup> preserved at the Mission headquarters in Paris, of which a selection has been included in the book by Lucien Lamay,<sup>3</sup> in order to illustrate the methods adopted in establishing the Mission in Siam, as well as to explain the circumstances under which this body of devout evangelists became entangled in political intrigue.

The origin of this entanglement will be traced to (1) the Missionaries' desire that French ships should visit Siam, (2) their ambition of converting King Pra Narai to Christianity. It will be seen that their failure to achieve this ambition led to their eclipse in the negotiations between France and Siam, and to the substitution of Phaulkon's allies, the Jesuits, in their place, as intermediaries between the two Courts.

In conclusion, Phaulkon's relations with the Foreign Mission and with the Jesuits will be examined in order to explain the virulence of his attack upon the former in his Memorandum to the Pope, as well as the attitude of reserve shown by the Mission's leaders at the time of his fall.

I will preface this study with the relation of a few important facts which I have collected concerning Constantine Phaulkon.

The year 1647 is given as the date of his birth by the *Eleftheroudakis Encyclopædia* of Athens, 1650 by other authorities. Fr. Maldonato,<sup>4</sup> the principal contemporary Jesuit in Siam, records a statement of Phaulkon himself to the effect that his father's name was Gerakis. Maldonato says that Phaulkon's father was of Venetian origin and Governor of the Ionian Island of Cephalonia, where Phaulkon was born. The Italian Bishop of Argoli, a Venetian, in a letter written from Siam in 1684,<sup>5</sup> confirms the claim to Venetian origin.

At the present day, the Mayor of Argostoli (chief town of

1. Q. d'O. Met D. II. 19, 21.

2. M. E. vol and Page.

3. *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*, Paris 1914.

4. Prop. Fid.—Ser. Ref. IV. p. 11.

5. .. do .. III. p. 355.

Cephalonia, is a Gerakis, and relatives are mentioned on good authority in Marseilles and Alexandria.

Gerakis, however, is a common name in modern Greek, it means "Falcon", and the Geraki in Italy transcribe their name as "Falcone". Constantine, on the contrary, always signed his name *Phaulkon*, replacing the Latin letters *F* and *C* by the Greek *Ph* and *K*.

It is uncertain whether the family was Catholic or Orthodox by religion, but the probability is that they were Catholics, since in his memorandum<sup>§</sup> to the Pope Phaulkon states that he had sent a Franciscan cleric to Europe with instructions to rebuild the Church in which he was baptised in Cephalonia, also to obtain certain favours for his family from the Republic of Venice, which was then in possession of Cephalonia.

The existing family church of the Geraki at Metaxata, in the island, may be the one to which he refers.

The family fortunes must have been dilapidated, for Phaulkon was shipped as a cabin-boy on an English vessel while still young, and spent all his early days in English ships, where he was known as "Conse" (short for Constantine).<sup>1</sup>

He is mentioned in 1670 among the crew of the English ship "Hopewell" in which George White sailed to India.<sup>2</sup>

In 1678,<sup>3</sup> he was mate of a ship belonging to the East India Company at Bantam in Java, and sailed in it to Siam when Burnaby was transferred there to retrieve the fortunes of the E. I. Coy. at that place.

Burnaby<sup>1</sup> was aware of Phaulkon's ability and linguistic talents, transferred him from the ship to his staff in Siam, and sent him on an errand to Singora which was then in revolt from Siam and in need of arms which Phaulkon tried unsuccessfully to smuggle.

In 1679<sup>3</sup> he figures in the Dutch E. I. Coy.'s records as the only energetic member of the English trading colony at Ligor (Nakôn Sri Tammarat).

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§ See Appendix, p.

1. M. E. vol. 887 English Catholics protest. *Memoirs en forme de lettre d'un Anglois catholique au R. P. Pierre d'Orléans S. J. sur l'histoire de M. Constantine.*

2. I. O. Masulipatam records.

3. Hague, Kol. Arc. 1304.

The attempt at Singora ended in shipwreck and disaster; but Phaulkon was so successful in appeasing the Siamese for Burnaby's participation in the gun-running venture, that the latter permitted him to accept an offer of service with the Siamese, trusting thereby to benefit by his help in negotiating the business of the English merchants with the Treasury.<sup>1</sup>

Since he died in 1688, his whole period of service with the Siamese cannot have exceeded eight years, during which time he rose from the humble position of clerk to the Treasury to that of King's favourite and dictator of Siamese policy.

Correspondence between the Agents of the East India Company in India and in Siam which has been published in *A Record of Relations* leaves no doubt about the cynical opportunism which he adopted in order to consolidate the position in the King's favour, which he is said to have won originally by exposing the fraudulence of certain Indian Mohammedan contractors to the Court.

Having attained supreme power, he laboured to conserve it by means of the alliance with France which King Pra Narai was anxious to conclude.

As negotiator for Siam with France, he came into conflict with the French Ambassador de Chaumont<sup>2</sup> and the Envoys La Loubère and Céberet,<sup>3</sup> who had behind them the moral support of the French Missionaries. He disregarded their antipathy, however, relying upon his relations with the Jesuits to maintain his popularity with the French Court.

He was thus tempted to take sides with the Jesuits in their long-standing quarrel with the Bishop and members of the French Foreign Mission which will be discussed in this paper.

The Jesuits<sup>4</sup> converted him from the Anglican faith, which he had acquired during his association with the English to Catholicism. One of their number, Fr. Tachard, wrote an eulogy about him which I have not seen. It appears to have formed the subject of Fr. d'Orléans' account of his life: "*Histoire de M. Constance*"

1. M. E. *loc. cit.*

2. de Choisy's memoirs—See Lamour.

3. Lanier.

4. Vat. Arc. Corpegni 32.

published in 1690, as well as of the English version contained in *Churchill's Voyages*<sup>1</sup> under the title "*A full and true Relation of The strange and wonderful Revolution which occurred in The Kingdom of Siam.*"

Among the archives of the French Foreign Mission in Paris is a manuscript containing the protest of an English Catholic contemporary of Phaulkon, against the distortions of the truth which the Jesuit's eulogy contained. The gun-running incident was suppressed, as was natural during Phaulkon's life-time—the ship-wreck, with which it ended, being represented as occurring in India, and as the prelude to a miraculous meeting with a Siamese nobleman, also victim of a shipwreck, who is represented as the author of Phaulkon's rise to favour at the Siamese Court in return for assistance then rendered to him by Phaulkon.

Fr. Thoma,<sup>2</sup> the Portuguese Jesuit who effected Phaulkon's conversion, refers to the disorderly life of the convert prior to his entry into the Catholic Church: this reference lends some weight to the assertion of the English Catholic that his conversion and marriage were the price Phaulkon had to pay to satisfy the leading members of the Portuguese community at Ayūthia, among whom he was then living, for his earlier sexual irregularities in their midst.

In any case, Phaulkon appears to have adopted his new faith with all the proverbial zeal of the convert, rewarding the Jesuits, who converted him, with the warm and loyal feelings which he evinced for King Pra Narai, George White, and Burnaby—all of whom he regarded as his benefactors.

It will be necessary to go back twenty years, to 1662, the year when the first French Missionaries landed in Siam, in order to appreciate the circumstances which caused estrangement between the Jesuits and the French Missionaries. This estrangement explains how it was that Phaulkon, as the champion of the Jesuits, found himself in constant opposition to the Frenchmen with whom he had to deal, when working to achieve his Master, Pra Narai's, ambition for an alliance with Louis XIV, then at the zenith of his power.

1. vol. viii, p. 95.

2. Vat. Arc. Carpegna 32.

coincided with the closing of Japan to foreigners, had two results:

Until the second half of the XVIIth century, all the Catholic Missions in the East were under Portuguese protection and the *perso-nnel* was composed mainly of Portuguese and Spaniards.

The pioneers were members of the various religious orders, chief among whom were the Jesuits, who followed in the steps of Francis Xavier, the Spanish apostle of the East Indies (1506-52) and co-founder of the Jesuit Order with Ignatius Loyola, another Spaniard, whose acquaintance he made when they were students together at the University of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

Francis Xavier founded Missions not only in the Portuguese Indies, (Goa, Malacca, etc.) but also in Japan, and died near Canton in an attempt to enter China. During the early years of the XVIIth century his followers spread over the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and when Pra Narai came to the throne of Siam there were Jesuits as well as Dominicans established in the Portuguese colony at Ayùt'ia. They were also present in Cambodia, Cochin-China, Tonkin, and in parts of China.

The Jesuits had laboured in Japan with considerable success for 100 years, from the middle of the XVIth to the middle of the XVIIth Century.

Arthur Lloyd, in his "*Creed of Half Japan*" says that "at first they were warmly welcomed for the reason that wherever the priests went, the merchants followed with guns and implements of war dear to a warlike people." Owing to the influence which they gained in the early years, the Shoguns Nobunaga and Hideyoshi made use of them to counter-balance the intolerant sect of the Nichirenist Buddhists. In consequence, they became unpopular with the Buddhists who supported the Shogun in persecuting them when he no longer had use for their services. Later on, when Ieyemitsu decided to banish all foreigners from Japan, he had the support of the merchant classes who favoured the exclusion of foreign goods from Japan, and the foreigners who sold them having learnt to imitate these goods successfully in Japan itself.

Nevertheless, an appreciable number of converts had been made to Christianity, and the persecution of Christians, which

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1. Fullop Muller.

Japanese Christians emigrated to neighbouring countries, and in some of these lands converts were subjected to a measure of restraint. These results, combined with the expulsion of the Catholics from Malacca upon its capture by the Dutch in 1641, impressed the Catholics in the East with the necessity for increased effort in the mission field.

In 1652 a French Jesuit, named Fr. Alexander of Rhodes, came home to plead at Rome for reinforcements. Pope Innocent X instructed him to search for suitable candidates. He discovered three in France, MM. Pigne, Laval de Momorency and Pallu, a Canon of St. Martin's of Tours. The Pope wished for an international corps, but only French candidates were forthcoming. Either for this reason, or on account of Jesuit opposition, the scheme was dropped, and Fr. Alexander was sent off to Persia by the head of his Order.

Canon Pallu, however, continued his search under the reign of the next Pope, Alexander VII, to whom he received an introduction from the French Cardinal Bagny. In 1659, Canon Pallu's efforts were rewarded by the foundation of the French Foreign Mission and by his consecration as Bishop of Heliopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin and the neighbouring provinces of China. The Mission headquarters at Paris are still on the original site in the Rue du Bac, on the south bank the Seine, near the west end of Boulevard St. Germain, and cluster round Mgr. Pallu's original block, behind which is a large, shady garden. The impression which this place made upon me during my frequent visits to it in September 1931 was that a tradition of austere devotion to the Faith still survives there in an age when these qualities are not common in Europe.

The institution of a purely French Mission depending upon a revenue raised principally in France was an innovation not entirely satisfactory from the international point of view either of Rome or of the Jesuits, whose influence in the direction of Roman policy was growing, although it was less strong in France in 1658 than it was 25 years later at the time of the Franco-Siamese negotiations, when the Jesuit Fr. La Chaise was Louis XIV's confessor, and the Court was dominated by Madame de Maintenon's pro-Jesuit clique.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Sisley Huddleston.



In 1680, Rome<sup>2</sup> attempted to internationalise the Mission by requiring every Missionary to accept the supremacy of the Pope over all temporal powers in the despatch and control of Missions, but shirked the practical course of financing it. All that Rome contributed to the Foreign Mission was a beggarly allowance of 1,000 écus<sup>3</sup> per annum for some years up to 1689; and of this sum 400 écus was allotted for the maintenance of four Franciscans waiting in Siam for an opportunity of proceeding to China.

The budget<sup>4</sup> framed by Mgr. Pallu allotted fr. 1,000 to a Bishop, fr. 500 for a European Missionary, fr. 250 for a native Missionary and fr. 50 for a college pupil. (Reckoning fr. 25 to the £, fr. 500 for a European Missionary is equivalent to the £20 per annum at which Mr. Fitz Needham was engaged in 1671 by the East India Coy. as an accountant with some skill in limbering and clock work; while Thomas Copping, Curate of Wansted, was allotted the Chaplaincy of Bantam in 1675 with an emolument of £50 per annum, which may be compared with £40 allotted to a French Bishop.)

During the early years of the Mission, Louis XIV contributed 1,000 écus yearly (fr. 5,000) but the grant appears to have been discontinued after the death of the pioneers.

Another difficulty which confronted the Papacy in sanctioning the organisation of the French Foreign Mission was the antiquated claim of Portugal, based upon Papal decrees of the XVIth Century, to the right of visa over all Catholic priests in the East. It was hoped that by giving to the leaders of the French Mission the title of Vicars Apostolic responsible directly to the Pope himself, Rome would avoid a clash with Lisbon. For the same reason, territorial titles were withheld from the Bishoprics to which the leaders of the French Mission were promoted: in the place of territorial titles, the titles of the ancient Bishoprics of Asia Minor were revived from the oblivion into which they had lapsed a thousand years before, when overthrown by the first wave of Mohammedan conquest.

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2. Formula Turamenti O. d O.-I.O. II. 17.64.66.

3. Prop. Fid. Scr. Ref. II. 440-1.

4. Launay, p. 108.

5. I.O. London to Bantam, 21 Sept. 1671.

6. „ C.M. 29. Dec. 1675.

Unfortunately these expedients were unavailing to spare the susceptibilities of Portugal, which was a dependency of the powerful Spanish Throne from 1581 until 1665, neither did they placate the Jesuits who, by reason of their origin, were intimately associated with Spain. Orders were issued in Lisbon in June 1661 that the French Bishops were to be arrested wherever they were found in Portuguese territory in the East, and that they were to be sent home to answer for their failure to obtain the King of Portugal's sanction before they left Europe.

It was thus in the face of imminent opposition that the first three field-workers set sail from Marseilles on 27th Novr. 1660.<sup>1</sup> A slow voyage round the Mediterranean ports brought them to Alexandretta in 43 days. From Alexandretta they travelled overland *via* Aleppo to Bagdad, where they rested 12 days before proceeding to Basra at the head of the Persian Gulf. The overland journey from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf occupied 2½ months; it was then April, and there was no prospect of finding a ship for India until the end of the S. W. Monsoon in October. They therefore filled in the six months of enforced delay by taking a trip up to Ispahan and down from there to Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where a year after leaving France they embarked on an English ship for Surat avoiding Goa, with its threat of Portuguese enmity. The journey overland across India from Surat to Masulipatam took 41 days; then a month's sail round the Bay of Bengal brought them to the Siamese port of Mergui on 28th April 1662.

The party consisted of Peter Lambert de la Motte, Bishop of Berytus and Vicar Apostolic for Cochinchina and five provinces of China, James de Bourges and Francis Deydier priests.

Two years later, de Bourges wrote<sup>2</sup> that their original intention was to disembark at Syriam in Burma and make their way into China *via* the Irrawaddy and a march of 25 days from Ava to the Yunnan frontier. This plan was rendered impracticable by the incursion of Chinese troops into Burma in pursuit of survivors

1. For the Journey, see M. E. 121, p. 626, 876 p. 117, & *Voyage de Mgr. de Beryte* 127.

2. M.E. 209, p. B.

of the Ming dynasty, who, after their expulsion by the Manchus, had been allowed to settle at Sagaing.<sup>1</sup>

The party therefore changed its objective from China to Cochin-China, which they proposed to reach *via* Siam. The journey from Merguy to Ayüt'ia was delayed by an accident to the Bishop's dug-out, which caught on a snag while ascending the little Tenasserim river to Jalinga, and sank with the luggage. Most of the cases were recovered, but the passports were lost and de Bourges had to return to Tenasserim in order to obtain new ones. On reaching the Gulf of Siam, they were obliged to tramp up the coast as far as Petahaburi before finding a boat to convey them to Ayüt'ia, where they landed in the Portuguese settlement a year and nine months after leaving France.

The final stage of the journey to Cochin-China had to be abandoned owing to the unrest which then prevailed in the lands to the east of Siam. Ever since 1651 the Annamites had been interfering in the affairs of Cambodia. They deposed its King, Rama Thupley Chan, in 1659 because he had adopted Mohammedanism,<sup>2</sup> and overran the Mekhong delta, which is now known as Cochin-China, though that name was then confined to what is now Annam.<sup>2</sup>

The French Missionaries therefore found themselves stranded at Ayüt'ia, having been deflected from their first objective by troubles in Burma, and from their second one by unrest in Cambodia. Thus their settlement in Siam was quite unpremeditated.

At Ayüt'ia they were welcomed by ten Portuguese and one Spanish priest whom they found serving a Christian community estimated at 2,000 souls. The eleven priests included four Jesuits, two Dominicans, two Franciscans and three ordinary priests.

The French visitors were unfavourably impressed by the lack of evangelistic effort shown by this large body of ecclesiastics; unfortunately they made the mistake of showing their feelings openly. We read;<sup>3</sup> "Mgr. Lambert's zeal led him to advise his hosts of certain shortcomings; whereupon they imagined that they were

1. See also Sir Geo. Scott, "*Burma*".

2. Maspéro "*Un empire colonial français*."

3. M. E. v. p 490

"insulted, and with one accord decided to break off friendly relations with them."

In early life Mgr. Lambert had practised as a barrister at Rouen, and this training may have tempted him to enter into dangerous discussions. His portrait reveals a fiery nature. Although Mgr. Pallu wrote of him that "while fearless, he knew when to yield a point, and was a past-master in finding a way round a thorny subject," yet, to judge by results no less than by the advice which he received from Paris "not to try to achieve the impossible by a general Reformation," there can be little doubt that he approached the Portuguese in the spirit of a zealot rather than of a statesman.

Launay considers that national antipathy was at the root of the trouble, tracing its origin to the anomalous privileges accorded to Portugal in the preceding century. Fr. Vachet says that any reference to the power of his Sovereign in the hearing of a Portuguese was sufficient provocation to inspire him to commit acts of physical violence in order to sustain his proof of it.

Whatever chance the French might have had of winning friends in the Portuguese settlement was lost irreparably in December 1662, within three months of their arrival, when the Portuguese received from Goa a copy of the orders from Lisbon for the arrest of French Bishops found in Portuguese territory.

Bishop Lambert had got wind of these orders during his journey, and the knowledge of them may not have disposed him to be patient with the idle priests whom he found in Ayū'tia. In any case, the arrival of these orders added fuel to the irritation with which the idlers regarded the newcomers. The storm of opposition became so strong in December 1662 that the three Frenchmen found it prudent to move across the river and accept the hospitality offered them by the Dutch merchants, who warned them to expect violence from their late hosts.

<sup>1</sup> While sheltering in the Dutch Settlement, the Missionaries discovered some Christian refugees from Japan living in the adjacent

1. M. E. i. p. 42.

.. 249 .. 13.

.. v. .. 190.

Japanese quarter, and divided their time between ministrations to these refugees and a study of Annamite in preparation for their journey to Cochin-China.

There was an Annamite settlement due west of the Portuguese, with a river frontage facing the south shore of Ayüt'ia island. Here the Frenchmen found a number of Christian families who had emigrated to Ayüt'ia: these Annamites invited them to settle in their midst. They accordingly moved over from the Dutch to the Annamite quarter, where they built a bamboo chapel at Ban Plahet, near the site of the later permanent buildings, among the ruins of which stands the modern Catholic Church at Ayüt'ia.

In October 1663, after an abortive attempt to reach Cochin-China, Bishop Lambert despatched de Bourges to Rome with an appeal for support against Portuguese obstruction which at times developed into open threats of violence. Vachet<sup>1</sup> in fact describes a savage defiance hurled at the Bishop by a young Portuguese nobleman, whose noisy threatenings so enraged the Annamites that they chased him down stream and compelled him to seek shelter with his friends.

Three months later on 27th January 1664, Bishop Pallu arrived in Ayüt'ia bringing with him a layman, de Chamesson and four more priests, Chevreuil, Hainques, Brindeau and Laneau. The two former had left France in September 1661 in company with Bishop Cottolendi who died in India, leaving them stranded there until Bishop Pallu picked them up.

Bishop Pallu decided to establish the eastern headquarters of the Mission at Ayüt'ia, which appealed to him as a convenient centre from which to direct missionary effort in Burma, Cochin-China and South China as well as in the provinces of Siam. From 1664 onwards the French Mission took definite root in Siam. Bishop Pallu remained for a year at Ayüt'ia organising the establishment and endeavouring to effect a truce with the Portuguese and Jesuits, who relented to the extent of inviting the French clergy to take part in a Lentern procession and later on accepted the Frenchmen's invitation to support them at the first annual festival of the Mission

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1. M.E. 110, p. 58.

on Joseph's day—the Mission having adopted the name of their first convert, Joseph.

The reconciliation was not permanent. After Bishop Pallu's departure, agents<sup>1</sup> from the Archbishop of Goa arrived at Ayut'ia and actually excommunicated Bishop Lambert for conducting a confirmation in the Dominican church at the request of the Dominican Fathers. It then became apparent that no peace could exist until the Pope exacted respect from Portugal for his own chosen representatives—the Apostolic Vicars.

Bishop Pallu spent eight years away from Siam returning there from Europe for the second time in 1673, armed with a Papal decree of the 7th November 1669 which authorised the Vicars to perform all episcopal functions in all lands outside Europe which were not subject to the rule of Catholic princes. Even this was not immediately effective: for the General of the Jesuit Order delayed until 1674 before issuing orders that all Jesuits should submit themselves to the Papal Vicars. In the same year, Mgr. Pallu had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Spanish authorities in the Philippines as the result of a shipwreck which he met with on his way to take up work in Tonkin. He was sent in chains to Europe *via* Mexico and only released as a result of strong representations from Paris and Rome to the Court at Madrid. The ill-usage meted out to Mgr. Pallu by his enemies only served to convince the Pope of the need for yet stronger action in order to curb the claims of Portugal.

On his third and last visit to Siam in 1682, Bishop Pallu brought with him the text of the famous Oath<sup>2</sup> which the Pope ordered his Vicars to administer to every priest in their diocese acknowledging the sole right of Rome to despatch Missions, and requiring all priests to obtain the Vicar's sanction before officiating.

This order placed the Portuguese and Jesuit priests in Siam definitely under the control of the French Bishop in Ayut'ia, it was not gladly accepted. There are references to an attempt on the part of two Dominicans to wriggle out of taking the Oath on the score of

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1. Launay p. 10.

2. Q. d'O. *loc. cit.* *appentic.*

non-permanent residence in Siam, on one occasion Bishop Laneau<sup>1</sup> was reprimanded by Rome for permitting a Jesuit to practise in Siam for a short time without taking the Oath; later on, when he was held hostage by the Siamese for the return of the ships and Siamese hostages taken by the departing French garrison, he reported to Rome how various Portuguese priests availed themselves of his captivity, to flout the Pope's authority.<sup>1a</sup>

Yet another instance of the grudging submission of the Jesuits is the use which they made of their convert Phaulkon to malign the French Missionaries. A Jesuit, Tachard, carried Phaulkon's Memorandum<sup>2</sup> to the Pope written in January 1688, a date which may be regarded as the culminating point in the quarrel between the rival factions among the Catholics in Siam. Before the end of that year, Phaulkon, the Jesuit's protégé, had been executed and the French Missionaries imprisoned as hostages for the garrison, and in danger of their lives.

It was only in the face of these adversities on both sides that a better feeling at last prevailed. From his prison, Bishop Laneau was able to write to Rome his grateful recognition of the sympathy and help afforded him by the head of the Jesuits in Siam, Fr. Maldonato. This Father's own letter confirms it.<sup>3</sup>

If only this same good feeling had existed a year or two earlier, the history of the French adventure in Siam might have been very different.

#### STAFF ACTIVITIES.

For the first four years after Mgr. Pallu's first visit Bishop Lambert consolidated his position in Ayút'ia with the of help of his six Priests. Between the years 1668 and 1684 no less than 32 new recruits arrived together with two laymen who served for a short time, de Chamesson as Bursar, and René Charbonneau as Doctor. One non-Frenchman Antonio Perez is mentioned—the son of a Portuguese from South India.

1. Prop. Fil. Ser. Ref. IV. 268.

1a. Appendix, p. 21.

2. Vat. Arch. Caspegna 32.

3. Prop. Fil. Ser. Ref. V. 104.

Provincial stations, each with its Church and school were opened at *Tenasserim* and *Puket* in the south *Lopburi* in 1673 at *Bangkok* in 1674, *Pitsanulok* in 1675 with a sub-station at *Sāk'ofai*. From that station Frs. Genou and Joret went over to *Burma*<sup>1</sup> and established themselves at Syriam, near the site of the modern Raugoan working amicably with the half-east Portuguese clergy whom they found there.

*Cambodia* and *Cochin-China* were also supplied with Missionaries by Ayū'tia which thus became the centre of Catholic expansion in Further India, inspired with the purpose of educating a native Ministry, in accordance with the instructions issued at Rome when the Mission was founded in 1659:

“The motive inspiring the Curia in its despatch of Bishops to  
“the Far East was to foster every opportunity and every means  
“for training the youth out there to acquire such aptitude for Holy  
“Orders that ultimately they would assume full charge of the Chris-  
“tian community in those parts under your guidance. This therefore  
“is the goal which you should ever keep before you—to bring in,  
“teach, and in due course promote as many suitable candidates as  
“possible for the Priesthood.”

#### THE COLLEGE.

Ayū'tia commended itself to Bishop Pallu as the best centre for establishing a training College on account of the religious toleration enjoyed in Siam, its good climate and low cost of living.

The plan of the College was always a Lower School where little boys learnt the elements, and an Upper School for the aspirants to Holy Orders.

The Mission archives contain several accounts of the College written between 1683 and 1687: there is also an account by an ex-pupil, Anthony Pinto, son of a Portuguese by a Siamese mother. Pinto accompanied the Second Siamese Embassy to Rome, and left this account<sup>2</sup> behind, which is preserved at the Propaganda and

1. M.E. 862, p. 421.

880. 549.

881. 362.

2. Prop. Fid. Ser. Ref. IV. 76.



corresponds with the French records.

According to Bishop Laneau's list there were 13 pupils in the upper school and 45 in the lower grade in 1688. Tonkinese and Annamites are in a majority, but the list includes one English, two Dutch and two French boys in the motley company of orientals and half-castes. In 1716 the numbers had dropped to 30 and included little Constantine, Phaulkon's grandson.

The accounts show a gradual evolution from the austere rule inaugurated by Bishop Laneau. The hours 10-11.30 a. m. and 3.30-5. p. m. were always devoted to lectures; but in 1716 the hour for rising is 5. a. m. instead of 4. a. m. followed by only half an hour's study before Mass, 7-7.30 a. m. in place of the lengthy devotion and meditation in Chapel until early Mass, which formed the curriculum in Bishop Laneau's time. The greatest innovation in 1716 consisted in an hour's manual labour, carrying earth, digging out ponds, etc., after 5. p. m. followed by half an hour's bathing in the river. Bed-time was at 9.30 p. m., but lights were kept burning all night, and the house-master patrolled the dormitories two or three times.

In 1679 or 1680 the college was moved out from the city to Mahāprām, a short distance up the Ant'ong branch of the river on its right bank, where the pupils were able to study in cooler surroundings, undisturbed by the distractions of the city. In 1686 a letter<sup>1</sup> from the Bishop mentions a visit which Phaulkon paid to the college, as a result of which it was moved into the city into new buildings erected by him on low-lying ground which required a gang of several thousand men to fill in. Temporary buildings of sawn wood were put up and entitled "*Constantine College*", but when the Missionaries were released from detention after Phaulkon's death, they re-occupied the Mahāprām site, and in 1722 with the proceeds of a gift from Paris they put up a new wooden building on posts four feet from the ground, to be clear of floods. The lower storey was divided into two class-rooms and another room, above which were 50 cubicles, each capable of sub-division into two single-berth cabins, in case of need.

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1. M.E. 879, p. 515.

<sup>1</sup> Latin was the only medium of communication permitted. No grammar was taught until the boys had acquired a vocabulary and could make themselves more or less understood. The Annamites found it difficult to follow rapid conversation and their pronunciation resembled that of English and Irish boys.

Phaulkon's memorandum to the Pope gives the impression that he regarded the College at Mahāprām as a rather mangy institution. But the Bishop preferred that his pupils should live a simple life in order that when they returned to their homes they should not pine for a standard of comfort higher than that which their homes could provide. He wrote :

" The diet, judged by European standards, will appear rather " dull ; but we have judged it worth while not to depart entirely " from native standards of diet, in order to obviate the discomfort " which would be entailed by a return to them on leaving school."

#### THE CHURCH AND SEMINARY.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Aumont has left an account of the main establishment which took the place of the first rough habitations after the Mission had won the notice of King P'ra Narai and obtained his sanction and co-operation in the construction at Ban Phahet, known comprehensively as the *Seminary*. The outlines of the foundations are still visible outside the walls of the XIXth century church.

#### HOSPITAL.

In a country where most of the male population devotes part of its boyhood to monastic life while obtaining its education, and where a considerable number remain on through life as Buddhist Monks, thereby avoiding the *corvées* imposed on laymen in lieu of taxation, the Missionaries found it hard to propagate the Christian religion. In 1704,<sup>3</sup> Bishop de C'iréé admitted that while 1,200 babies were baptised annually, hardly any adult Siamese were converted. The pioneers spent much time in house to house visitations, comforting the sick and baptising the moribund. In 1676 Mgr. Palin reported

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1. M.E. 854 p. 175.

2. " 222.

3. M.E. 882. p. 153.

to Rome<sup>1</sup> : "The Missionaries saved many souls by the custom they had of touring the city in the guise of physicians to heal the sick." In 1669, a small hospital was founded near the Church to accommodate three or four patients who increased as the years went on. In 1672 there were 15 patients: in 1678, two separate wards for men and women housed 20-30 patients while 200-300 out-patients were treated daily.<sup>2</sup> There is mention of a Swiss physician, who may be the young Burgundian René Charbonneau, already noticed. In 1682 the staff at Ayut'ia had orders to assist at the morning dressings as observers, to gain experience in treating surgical cases. In that year an epidemic of smallpox gave enlarged opportunities for house to house visitation, in recognition of which the King of Siam presented the Bishop with a gilded chair, similar to the one used by the Buddhist Patriarch, but he refused the Bishop's suggestion that he should endow 200 beds on the grounds that such institutions had no place in Siamese custom.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE COURT.

In 1664 or 1665, immediately after Mgr. Pallu's first visit to Siam and his decision to settle there, the Mission received a visit from a Court Officer, who mentioned the interest aroused by the charitable works of the Frenchmen. His attention was attracted by the school when he learnt that small boys would be welcomed as pupils. This was reported to the King and his sanction was given for ten Siamese boys to attend the school. Permission was given at the same time to the Missionaries to move freely about the country and to preach their religion wherever they wished.<sup>3</sup>

Bishop Lambert accepted this opening as an opportunity for establishing contact with the Court. Since Court etiquette prevented him from applying for an audience with the King in person, he wrote to the Minister of the Treasury on 29th May 1665, requesting him to transmit a letter to the King.<sup>4</sup> In it he addressed P'ra Narai as God's representative in Siam, and begged him to accept a written

1. Prop. Fid. Ser. Ref. II. 537.

2. M.E. 877, pp. 654-5.

3. M. E. 121, p. 684.

4. M. E. 121, p. 684.

token of the respect which the Bishop and his colleagues were debarred by Court etiquette from conveying to the King in person. In recognition of the Royal favour which entrusted the education of ten young Siamese to the College, the Bishop offered to maintain two instructors permanently in Siam in order "to teach all things appertaining to international intercourse and so to pass on the torch of learning received from the hands of God." He affirmed that "their one aim was to render God service and to help their fellow men, believing that their fate after death was dependent upon their success in so doing." His letter ended with the request for the grant of a building in which to perform the Christian rites.

The result of the letter was the grant of a piece of land at Ban Plahet, beyond the west end of the Annamite settlement, together with a promise of materials for building a Church.<sup>1</sup> In 1666, the Missionaries embanked this land 6 ft. to protect it from floods. They there erected their first solid building—a ground floor of brick and mortar with an upper story of sawn timber to serve as a chapel pending the construction of a Church.

In 1667, in order to remind the King of his promise of a Church, the Bishop sent him a set of engravings depicting the life of Christ and the Apostles. In October 1667, Bishop Lambert wrote to Mgr. Pallu that the King on receipt of these pictures asked for a separate explanation to be written out for each picture. This occupied Fr. Laneau for two months, and soon afterwards the long-expected timber for the Church was delivered.<sup>2</sup>

About this period, Fr. Laneau was sent for by the paralysed brother of the King to examine his hands and feet, which had been crippled for twelve years, and to inform him whether they could be cured through the medium of Christianity. Fr. Laneau succeeded in holding the Prince's attention, and was asked to repeat his visit and finally to follow the Prince up to Lopburi.<sup>3</sup> The Brahmins encouraged the Missionaries to offer up special prayers for the Prince's

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1. M. E. 121. p. 687.

M. E. 858. p. 131.

M. E. 876. p. 143.

2. M. E. 857. p. 221

3. M. E. 121. p. 753.

recovery, which they said would interest the King in Christianity. The Missionaries maintained that the Prince's recovery would depend upon the measure of faith shown by the Prince, and when some improvement was observed in the Prince's circulation, they claimed that their prayers were being answered.

The Court thereupon broke off all relations with them, nevertheless the Missionaries built strong hopes upon the interest shown by the King in their sacred pictures and in their charitable works. They did not realise that evangelism is not a common form of meritorious action in Buddhist eyes, or that the spectacle of foreigners braving the dangers and discomfort of a journey half round the world was calculated to arouse feelings of surprised curiosity rather than grateful admiration, even in a ruler as enlightened as Pra Narai. To those well acquainted with Siam it would not seem surprising that the King, having satisfied his curiosity, should avail himself of the foreigners' philanthropy for the good of his people, without ever for one moment contemplating the adoption of their creed. To the newcomers from France, however, Pra Narai's interest appeared significant, and Mgr. Lambert's letters to Mgr. Pallu in 1668 are full of satisfaction and hope.<sup>1</sup>

The result was that the idea of converting the King of Siam to Christianity took a firm hold in Paris, and while experience gradually taught the older missionaries in the field to moderate their ambitions, younger ones, such as Vachet during the visit of the Siamese envoys K'ân Pichai and K'ân Pichit to France, appear to have encouraged the notion. It formed the key-stone to de Chaumont's embassy to Ayut'ia, and was only exploded finally when the failure of that embassy from the French point of view became known.

Another matter which brought the Mission into relations with the French Court and foreign policy was the very natural desire of its members to see French ships in the Menam side by side with the Dutch and English vessels upon which they depended for maintaining communications with home. The wars between

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1. M. E. 851 p. 246.

„ 857 p. 221.

France and Holland rendered this line of communication precarious, while the overland journey—as experienced by the pioneers—was so hazardous and so slow that it was never attempted as a means of obtaining mails or supplies for hospital and school.

Ships leaving Europe in the spring for the Cape would there catch the South-West Monsoon and reach Ayūṭ'ia in little more than six months. French ships, however, did not proceed farther east than Madagascar until 1668, when the first French settlement was made at Surat. The advantages to the Mission of having a French trading centre at Ayūṭ'ia were so obvious that, when news reached Bishop Lambert of the contemplated extension of French trade to India, he wrote home on 17th October 1667:

“I have heard of the plans which our gracious King has formed for establishing trade in the East and I submit that this city [Ayūṭ'ia] is a most useful centre for such a purpose. A suggestion to that effect might be submitted to H. M. urging him to follow the successful example of the Dutch and send an Ambassador to make arrangements for the trade which could be conducted with this country, and at the same time invite the King to accept the Christian religion.”<sup>1</sup>

This letter marks the inception of French political interest in Siam. The motives which animated the Missionaries in appealing to the Foreign Office were cogent enough, without the added spur of nationalist sentiment which inspired Frenchmen in that century<sup>2</sup> and which must have been sharpened by the senseless antagonism of the Portuguese.

#### MGR. PALLU.

Mgr. Pallu was in France when Bishop Lambert's letter was received, and to his efforts it was due that interest in Siam became a feature of French eastern policy. He was a man of outstanding character and ability, well equipped to conduct negotiations with Princes after his success at Rome in 1659 which led to the foundation of the Mission.

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1. M.E. 857, p. 222.

2. Sisley Huddleston *Louis XIV*

Acting upon Bishop Lambert's suggestion, he succeeded in winning Louis XIV's interest, and returned to Siam on his second visit, the bearer of a letter from Louis to Pra Narai written in Paris on 31st January 1670, together with a letter from Pope Clement IX. Both letters express thanks to Pra Narai for the favours he has bestowed on the Missionaries, and Louis adds the assurance of his appreciation in advance for any further favours which they or other French subjects may receive.

These letters enabled Mgr. Pallu to present himself to the Siamese Court as envoy of the two most powerful rulers in the western world. Such an introduction might be calculated to raise the prestige of the Mission in Siam and to bring the Bishops into close relations with the Siamese Court.

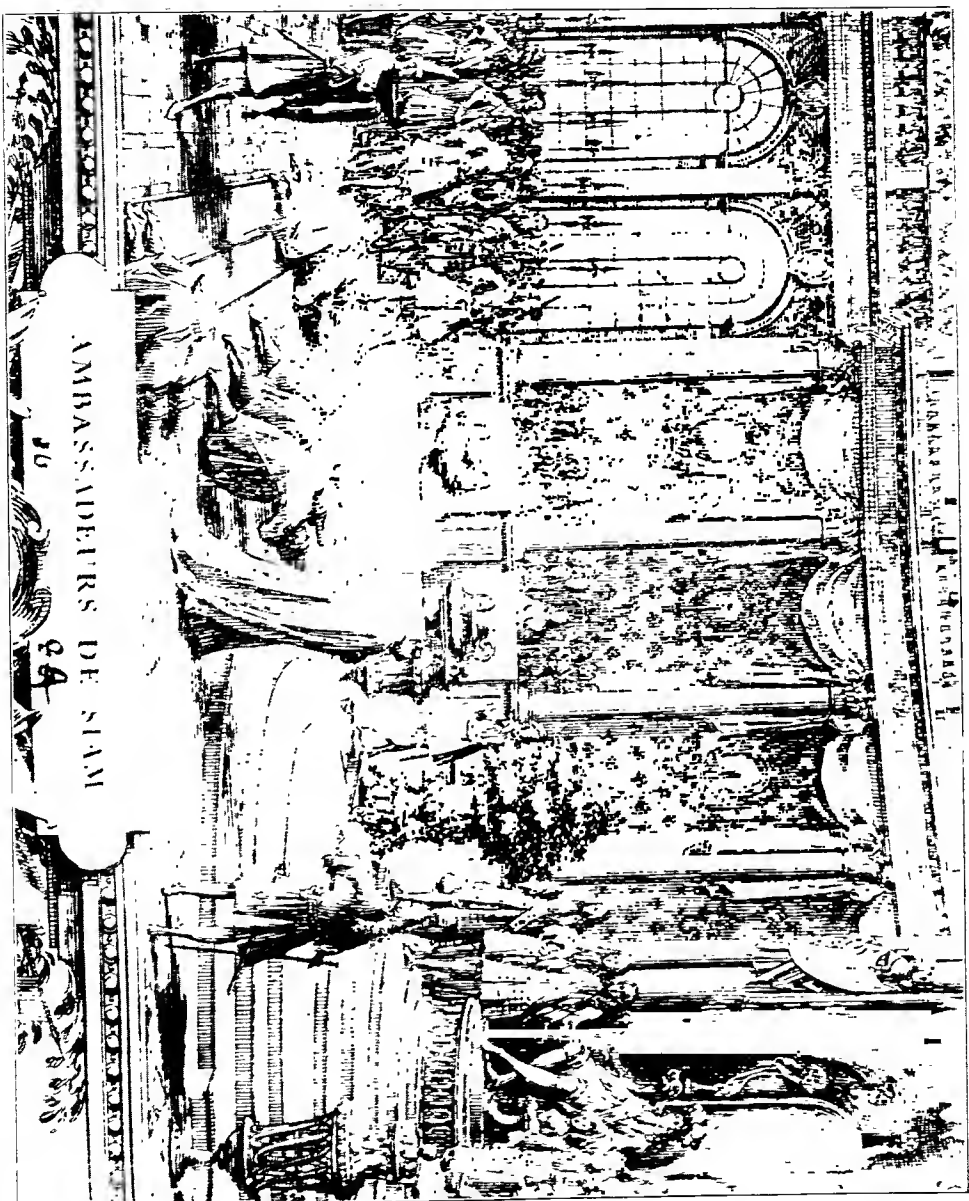
Bishops Pallu and Lambert were received in public State audience by Prai Narai at Ayūthia on 18th October 1673. For the first time in Siamese history a foreign envoy was permitted to face the King, and to remain seated on a carpet instead of prostrate, face to the ground. This modification of ancient Siamese custom was a notable concession which raised French prestige above that of the other European nations. It was followed by an invitation to join the Court at Lopburi in November during which they were received in audience not only in the palace but also at the elephant kraal (Paniet) where the King engaged them in a long conversation concerning Louis XIV.

It then became evident that Siam reciprocated French political interest. In order to obtain Louis' alliance, Pra Narai was willing to cede a port in the Peninsula to France, to be named after Louis the Great, and to be the residence of one of his representatives. The advantage to Siam of the proximity of a friendly foreign garrison is obvious, especially in the town of a vassal of doubtful loyalty. Pra Narai hoped to obtain this advantage by the offer of privileges to the Missionaries and traders; and for the last fifteen years of his reign it was the dominating motive of Siamese foreign policy.

<sup>1</sup>The Bishops wrote a joint letter to Louis XIV on 8th November 1673 reporting their success and the probability that a

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1. M.E. 858. p. 263.



AMBASSADEURS DE SIAM

Reception of the Siamese ambassadors by Louis XIV at Versailles.





Siamese embassy would be despatched to France the following year.

The fact that the first Siamese embassy to France did not sail until 1680 was due probably to the war between Holland and France which made it hard for the Siamese to obtain passages. The fact remains, however, that the Bishops, in reporting their success and Pra Narai's desire for Louis' friendship, appear to have assumed that Pra Narai was interested in Christianity and in the Most Christian King, whereas sundry incidents reported in their letters leave no room for doubt that Pra Narai's interest in Louis was an interest in the powerful monarch rather than in the Most Christian King.

On 4th July 1682, Mgr. Pallu returned to Siam for the third and last time—bound for China where he died. He again came in the character of envoy, bringing letters from Louis XIV and the Pope which were accorded a public state reception, as in 1673. I have not found copies of these letters, but presumably they introduced the French traders who settled in Siam in October 1682.

Mgr. Pallu found more than one change at Ayūthia. His colleague, Bishop Lambert, had died in 1679 and Fr. Louis Laneau was at the head of the Mission in Siam as Bishop of Metellopolis. Bishop Laneau had been consecrated in 1673 and had then served as interpreter at the State Audiences. In 1682 the young Greek, Constantine Gerakis or Phaulkon was right-hand man to the Minister of the Treasury and acted as interpreter at the audiences, furthermore,<sup>1</sup> in the spring of that year, he had been re-converted from the Anglican to the Catholic faith by the Jesuit Fr. Thomas.

Mgr. Pallu availed himself of Phaulkon's services, and did all in his power to effect good relations with the Jesuits and the Portuguese, with both of whom Phaulkon had close ties. <sup>2</sup>His advances met with only moderate success, but Phaulkon showed himself friendly, undertook to hold the king to his promise of building the Church and provided the old Bishop with his passage from Siam to China.

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1. Vat. Arch. Carpegna 32.

2 M.E. 878. p. 489

When Mgr. Pallu left Siam for the last time, his policy of interesting the French Foreign Office in Siam had obtained fruition. The French East India Company had just opened an agency at Ayūthia, while the eagerness shown by Pra Narai to obtain an alliance with France and the French garrison in one of the tributary states in the Peninsula was interpreted by the sanguine churchmen as affording a prospect for the introduction of Christianity, if not of the King's conversion. Even Pra Narai's desire for an alliance with France can be traced to the influence upon him of the glowing accounts of Louis' power which he heard from the Missionaries at a time when the encroachments of Dutch power in Java and the Celebes gave him cause for anxiety.

The Siamese policy of seeking an alliance with France was already mooted before Phaulkon ever came to Siam; before he rose to power it had been embarked upon quite definitely by the despatch to France in 1680 of Pra Pip Pat supported by Luang Wisān Senton, and K'un Nakōn Wichai, and conducted by Fr. Gayme, one of Bishop Laneau's most promising assistants.

News of the loss at sea of this embassy decided Pra Narai to despatch two minor officials, K'un Pichai Walit and K'un Pichit Maitri, accompanied by two more Missionaries, to take copies of his earlier letters sent in 1680. The Missionaries were Frs. Vachet and Pascot; and from the latter<sup>1</sup> we learn that he was Phaulkon's nominee, chosen against Bishop Laneau's wish. Pascot's letters give the impression that he was a neurotic, and likely to make trouble; and Mgr. Laneau reported to Paris that he agreed to the despatch of Pascot, since it would be necessary in any event to send him away to Europe. This was in 1684 the same year in which the English trader Barron had appealed to Bishop Laneau and to an Ambassador from Portugal to the Siamese Court, complaining of Phaulkon's vexatious treatment of foreign merchants, in the hope of getting him discredited at Court.<sup>2</sup> A letter from Fr. Clergues relates how Phaulkon came round to the Mission

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1. Prop. Ind. Sci. Ref. II. 436

2. M. E. 861 p. 190.



De Chaumont's reception by King Pra Narai



and complained of the incident, insisting upon the use of terms of respect such as Excellency for himself and Imperial Majesty for his master—a clear indication that relations between Phaulkon and the Mission were not very cordial in 1684. As time went on, Phaulkon's only friend in the Mission appears to have been the physician Fr. Paumard.

Vachet has left a full account of his Mission to Europe.<sup>1</sup> His Siamese charges gave him a lot of trouble owing to their boorish behaviour, but he appears to have been well satisfied with the result since he was able to convince de Seignalay Colbert's successor, of Siam's eagerness for French friendship and of the possibility of obtaining Pra Narai's conversion to Christianity in return for an alliance.

By this time, Jesuit influence was strong at the French Court. A Jesuit, Fr. de la Chaise, was confessor to Louis XIV. He sent for Vachet and put some searching questions to him on the subject of affairs in Siam. It is significant that when the great French embassy headed by de Chaumont set out for Siam a party of six Jesuit astronomers (bound ultimately for China) accompanied the expedition.

One of these astronomers was Fr. Guy Tachard, of whom de Choisy,<sup>2</sup> de Chaumont's accessor, writes that during the voyage the crew enjoyed more of Tachard's company than the passengers did. He had previously served in the Jesuit Missions of Central America, and knew how to win human sympathies. On arrival at Ayūthia he set himself to cultivate an intimacy with Phaulkon acting as his secretary and confidant.

<sup>3</sup> Céberet relates how Tachard two years later gave proof of his blind devotion to Phaulkon by actually taking his orders to the kitchen for supper to be served. It seems as if Tachard was working on behalf of the Jesuits to supplant Bishop Laneau as intermediary between the French and Siamese Courts.

1. Archives of M. E.

2. *Voyage de Siam.*

3. Lanier, *Etude historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam 1662-1713*

At the French Court, the Jesuits were already powerful: in Siam, the lack of cordiality between Phaulkon and the Missionaries after Mgr. Pallu's departure in 1683 left an open road for Tachard to gain Phaulkon's ear by pandering to his vanity and to his sensitiveness to criticism and disapproval. The Abbé de Lionnes' letters made no secret of his disapproval of Phaulkon in spite of the generous recognition which Bishop Laneau gave of Phaulkon's zeal for Christianity.

Then came de Chaumont's failure to obtain the King's conversion, the suggestion for which first emanated from the Missionaries. Their prestige naturally suffered when this plan had to be shelved, though it is doubtful whether in practice it ever received a fair chance, since Phaulkon insisted on ousting the Bishop as interpreter between the King and de Chaumont, deliberately distorting his translation of de Chaumont's speeches in order to minimise all references to the King's conversion: furthermore,<sup>1</sup> de Chaumont's memoir makes it clear that Bishop Laneau himself considered the demand for the King's conversion to be premature, and approved of Phaulkon's advice to de Chaumont not to make the issue of the negotiations dependent upon this demand.

Nevertheless, the policy was associated with the Missionaries, and its ill success naturally reflected upon them. Even before de Chaumont sailed for Siam, La Bryère had criticised the policy, asking how it was that Orientals accepted the presence in their midst of Christian priests with a tolerance which western races would never extend to Buddhist emissaries from Siam.

While de Chaumont's embassy ended in failure for the policy of the Mission, it represented a great success for Siam and for Phaulkon, who obtained de Chaumont's agreement to the alliance which Pra Narai coveted with France without surrendering anything more definite in return than (1) a vague offer of privileges for the Mission which were never published, and (2) suggestions for a French settlement and garrison at Singora.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Arc. Nat. K 1368. No. 98.

2. de Choisy's memoir, M.E. 8, p. 1.

Tachard went back to France with de Chaumont, bearing Phaulkon's secret suggestions,<sup>1</sup> which were to be conveyed to Louis through the Jesuits. They envisaged the conversion of Siam, not through the medium of the King, as the Missionaries had proposed, but by introducing French Catholics into positions of importance in the palace and in the provinces; among these agents Jesuits might be included provided they came in the guise of laymen; upon them Phaulkon depended for the establishment of Christianity in Siam.

Tachard won Louis' support for this plan.<sup>2</sup> By the year 1689 no less than a hundred gentlemen had been enrolled for service in Siam, but had to be disbanded when news came to France that Phaulkon had perished in a revolution in June 1688. The plan, however, was developed privately, and it is doubtful even whether Louis' own Ministers were admitted fully into the secret.

The official negotiations which followed de Chaumont's return to France were directed towards improving upon Phaulkon's suggestions for material and religious privileges in return for the alliance.

The Missionaries took no hand in these negotiations, in fact their letters express a hope that the offer of Singora would be accepted by France, and disapproval at subsequent developments;<sup>3</sup> in fact, they took a back place in political affairs until the sickness of Pra Narai led to Phaulkon's fall.

Their<sup>4</sup> services were then required by the Usurper Pra Pet Racha in order to negotiate for the disposal of the French garrison, which—acting upon the Bishop's advice—had stood aside from the intrigues at Court to establish the succession to the throne and refused Phaulkon's summons for assistance.

During the last years of Phaulkon's life, while the Missionaries were excluded from the political arena, it so happened that they enjoyed the services of a priest, the Abbé de Lionne, whose antecedents, as the son of the French Ambassador to Rome, marked him down as specially fitted for the role of negotiator.<sup>5</sup> De Lionne's

1. M.E. 879, p. 151.

2. Tachard's letter to Prakkang, March 1689, M.E. 880, p. 380.

3. M.E. 850, p. 97.

4. *Relation des Révolutions*. Amsterdam 1691.

5. M.E. 853, pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319. M.E. 856 pp. 123.



letters leave no doubt of his political acumen and ability: but unfortunately for France, no use was made of it until after Phaulkon's fall.

He was selected as interpreter to the Siamese Mission which went to France in the ships which took de Chamnont home, and in which Tachard also travelled. But when they reached France, he found that no interest was taken in him, and that Phaulkon's Jesuit friend Tachard usurped his place in the discussions with the French politicians and merely utilised him to interpret at the State Reception of the Siamese Envoy P'ya Sont'on (Kōsa Pan) by Louis XIV.

The ships which brought P'ya Sont'on back to Siam in 1687 with de Lionne and Tachard also carried two Envoys from Louis XIV, the merchant Céberet and the lawyer de la Loubère with 600 French soldiers. <sup>1</sup> La Loubère was the bearer of the answer of the French Court to proposals for commercial and religious privileges offered by Siam to de Chamnont in return for the alliance which France extended to Siam.

La Loubère<sup>2</sup> was instructed to refuse the offer of Singora as a French base and to insist upon the appointment of French Governors at Bangkok<sup>3</sup> and Mergui, where the French garrison was to reside. These demands were to be submitted to Phaulkon by Tachard, who was expected to obtain sanction for them from him: in case, however, of any unlooked for change of sentiment on the part of Siam towards France, the instructions committed the French force to an attack on Bangkok, in spite of the prejudice which this would entail to the cause both of Christianity and French commerce.

De Lionne's letters show that the Missionaries were not only left out of any share in these negotiations, but also that he anticipated that they would lead to disaster. Describing his voyage back to Siam, he wrote: <sup>4</sup> "At Batavia, Tachard transhipped to another vessel which set sail at once, in order to reach Siam ahead of the fleet. On disembarking, he went straight to Phaulkon. I do not know what passed between them: all I know is that when our ship

1. Lanier.

2. Etienne Gallois: "*L'expédition de Siam*."

3. M.E. 850, p. 99.

reached the Bar. Tachard came on board and told me privately that Bangkok was to be given to the French: that is to say, they were to be stationed there under certain conditions fixed between Phaulkon and Tachard. Either these conditions were not carried out or else they were unacceptable to the French, for ultimately the Envoys broke with both Phaulkon and Tachard. However, as it was a matter solely between these gentlemen and one of which I had no exact knowledge, I will refrain from discussing it:—all I can say, for this was common knowledge, is that Tachard took the lead in everything.”

#### PHAULKON'S QUARREL WITH THE MISSION.

It seems probable that the demand of the French in 1687 for Bangkok and Mergui as French garrison towns came as a surprise to Phaulkon, but that he succeeded in turning it to his own advantage while rendering it possible of acceptance by the Siamese through the stipulation that the garrisons must take an oath of allegiance to Siam. On this point<sup>1</sup> Phaulkon was immovable, in spite of the dislike for it which the French envoys and soldiers expressed, and he carried it out in spite of their opposition by obtaining the support of Desfarges, the General in command of the expeditionary force—an elderly man, opposed to taking unnecessary risks.

Phaulkon's triumph was complete on the day when the French officers tendered their allegiance to him as the King of Siam's representative at Bangkok, but it cost him the friendship of the French colony, as well as that of the Envoys Cèberet and La Loubère.

Lanier's quotation from Tachard's MS. journal reveals the important fact that Tachard also had a feud with these Envoys. Thus both Phaulkon and the French Jesuits found themselves opposed by almost the whole French community in Siam, who not only resented Phaulkon's domination as humiliating to their pride, but feared<sup>2</sup> to be associated with him in the eyes of the Siamese who—

1. Lanier.

2. Launay's reproduction of de Lionne's letters

M.E. vol. 853, pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319

.. 856, pp. 123.

M.E. .. 880, p. 15 for his estimate of Phaulkon.

it was evident—were merely waiting for a favourable moment to disown him.

De Lionne's<sup>1</sup> MSS show clearly that the Missionaries shared these feelings very strongly: it was natural therefore that their leader, Bishop Laneau, as the senior and most respected member of the French community, should be the object of Phaulkon's spite and resentment particularly since relations with Phaulkon's allies the Jesuits, were constantly subjected to a strain by their opposition to the Oath which the Pope required that the Bishop should administer to them.

Tachard, on leaving Siam for France at the beginning of 1688, carried with him letters from Phaulkon to the Pope<sup>2</sup> and Curia of the 2nd and 3rd January 1688 with a<sup>3</sup> Memorandum on the state of the Missions in Indo-China. Copies of these documents were shown to Prince Damrong in Rome in 1930 at the Vatican, while the original letter from Phaulkon to the Pope, written in Portuguese and discovered by me at the Propaganda Fidei in Piazza di Spagna at Rome last year, is here reproduced. These documents are witness of Phaulkon's attempt to damage Bishop Laneau, representing him as a confirmed enemy of the Jesuits. There is evidence at the Propaganda that they were discussed by the Curia and that the latter refused to be drawn into taking sides in the quarrel.

It is clear, however, from Bishop Laneau's final letter, that the Jesuits had succeeded in damaging the Mission's reputation in Europe. In commending his flock before his death to the fatherly care of the Holy See, Bishop Laneau adjured the Cardinals to accept the oath of a dying man and to believe<sup>4</sup> "that never was a fraternity more devoted to the Holy See than the Siam Mission is and will ever remain: that not a single member is contaminated with Jansenism or any other heresy: that not one of them would not prefer to end his days at home, in spite of insinuations current

1. Launay's reproduction of de Lionne's letters.

M.E. vol. 853, pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319.

.. 856, p. 123.

M.E. .. 880, p. 15 for his estimate of Phaulkon.

2, 3. Appendix.

4. Launay, end vol. I.

"to the effect that some came to Siam in search of an easy life and others for worldly gain." (Appendix A. B. C.).

Critics of France insinuate that France favours French Missionaries as a means of preparing the way for mercantile and political action. These pages show that the French Foreign Mission originated in circumstances unconnected with French politics, and depended for maintenance upon the contributions of the charitable—Louis XIV's annual donation of 1,000 écus ceasing with the death of Mgr. Pallu.<sup>1</sup>

It was the Missionaries themselves who invited the traders to come to Siam, and they who urged Louis to send out an important embassy to Pra Narai. The motives which prompted them would have appealed to any pioneers situated as they were. Their eagerness to convert Pra Narai led them into mistaking his favours, conferred upon them as subjects of Louis whose alliance he desired for favours conferred upon them as Christian evangelists.

It was the hope of converting Siam which led them to support the Siamese policy of an alliance with France, but the French Government, so far from co-operating with them gave its support to their opponents, the Jesuits.

The Jesuits must share with their tool Phaulkon the responsibility for the errors of French policy in Siam which culminated in the military occupation of Bangkok with troops placed under the control of this unpopular Greek.

The Missionaries foresaw that these errors would involve them and all Frenchmen in disgrace with the Siamese;<sup>2</sup> yet when the crash came, they were untiring in their efforts to negotiate for the disposal of the French garrison. The garrison failed to carry out in full the terms which Bishop Laneau negotiated for it with the Siamese and for which he and his staff stood security. In consequence, the Missionaries were kept in confinement by the Siamese for eighteen months and suffered persecution until the Siamese obtained satisfaction.<sup>3</sup>

1. Launay, vol. 1.

2. See de Lionne's letters, quoted above.

3. Ser. Ref. V, p. 104. F. Maldonado's *acc.*

M.E. 862, p. 379.

.. 880, pp. 311-613.

.. 680, p. 139.

No better example could be given of the disinterested patriotism which inspired the French Missionaries than Bishop Laneau's letter, written to Louis XIV on 18th May 1690 when he was released from confinement:

"We have no regrets for having exposed ourselves to imprisonment by accepting bail for the garrison, thereby securing their free departure, in which Your Majesty's honour was so much at stake. If need be, we would do the same thing again. Our sole regret is to see the name of God despised and French prestige brought so low."

The life<sup>1</sup> of Bishop Laneau is an epitome of the early days of the Mission—a life of unremitting toil for the welfare of his faith and of his country.

During his university career at the Sorbonne he met Mgr. Pallu who engaged him for the Foreign Mission. He sailed for Siam at the age of 25 and spent the remaining 34 years of his life there.

In 1686 de Choisy<sup>2</sup> described him as a tall, fine-looking man who might be taken for 60 instead of 49, adding: "a quarter of a century in the Mission field is bad for the complexion."

His natural inclination led him to prefer pastoral to political work. In matters of diet and dress his habits were austere: if Rome would have allowed it, he would have adopted the robe and rule of the Buddhists whom he hoped to convert to Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

It is significant that nearly all of his numerous letters preserved at Rome and in Paris reveal worry over the lack of unity among Catholics outside his Mission. Almost his happiest letter was written in 1690 while he was held prisoner by the Siamese ("*in furtim e carcere scribo*") and isolated from politics as well as from the malice of Jesuits and Portuguese.

When Bishop Lambert<sup>5</sup> proposed him as candidate for episcopal rank, Bishop Pallu expressed doubt whether he was strong enough for the post of leader, and Gazil de la Bernaillère wrote of

1. See Lamy.

2. *Voyage de Siam*.

3. Ser. Ref. IV, 57.

4. " " V, 195.

5. See Lamy.

him as "a simple soul with only average brain power".

Nevertheless, it was his leadership which carried the Mission through the troubled times that followed the death of P'ra Narai, and won for the Bishop the respect of that King's successor,<sup>1</sup> who began his reign by persecuting the Mission.

If Mgr. Laneau lacked the brilliance of Phaulkon, he had the "advantage of being a good man, and—as Launay says: "In the judgement of Eternity, virtue ranks before cleverness, and to be good "is more important than to be great."

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1. M.E. 881, p. 619.





Detail of de Chaumont's reception.





Detail of de Chaulmont's reception.

## APPENDIX.

## References in the Notes to Manuscripts.

M. E.	for papers in possession of the Missions Etrangères	at Paris.
Q. d'O.	.. .. .	French Foreign Office at Paris
Arc. Nat.	.. .. .	French State Archives at Paris.
Ser. Ref.	.. .. .	Propaganda Fidei in Rome. "Scripta Referita."
Vat.	.. .. .	Vatican Archives in Rome. "Carpegna Collection"
I. O.	.. .. .	India Office in London
Kol. Arc.	.. .. .	Colonial records at The Hague

## INDEX TO APPENDIX.

Introduction	... ..	Pages (A) (B) (C)
Phaulkon's Letter to Innocent XI	.. ..	(D) - (G)
Phaulkon's Memorandum	... ..	1—25.
The Oath (Abstract and Transcription)	.. ..	26—28.
Phaulkon's Letter to Fermanelle	.. ..	29.
Bp. Laneau's Letter to Innocent XI	.. ..	30—33.



## APPENDIX.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Propaganda Fidei at Rome possesses the original copy in Portuguese of the letter which Phaulkon sent to the Pope on 2nd January 1688 to explain the object of the Memorandum which he had entrusted to Fr. Tachard.

Phaulkon came down to Paknam to bid farewell to the French Envoy La Loubère and to Tachard, and he dated his letter from the Bar.

The Vatican possesses a copy of this letter in Italian, also a copy of the Memorandum in the same language; but the original of the Memorandum has not been traced. It was probably written in Portuguese in the same way as the letter.

The paper on which the letter to the Pope is written consists of a panel in white, reserved for the script, above which there is lotus-leaf ornamentation in gold, and the panel is surrounded with a gold framework. The letter is at the lower end of the sheet, the remainder of which consists of a dappled-green background, decorated with large flower-sprays picked out in gold and white. The flowers resemble those commonly used in Persian designs.

There was much intercourse between Siam and the Moham-medan States in Persia and India in the XVIIth century, and it is probable that Paulkon obtained the paper from one of these sources.

The Memorandum is a clever presentation of the grievances of the Jesuits against the French Foreign Mission. It is divided into five portions:

1). An account of the Christian origins in Tonkin and of the exclusion of the Jesuits from that land, which led the Tonkinese converts to appeal to Phaulkon for the return of the Jesuits, and Phaulkon's failure to obtain this from Bishop Laneau.

2). Account of the troubles in Annam, where the converts were forbidden to receive absolution from non-juring Jesuits, and punished for so doing.

The reluctance of French priests to settle in Cambodia is mentioned as the reason why that country is less troubled by them

than the other two kingdoms; while in South China their arrival was too recent to have led to serious disturbance.

3). A survey of the Mission Stations in Siam, together with ten observations upon the conduct of the French.

4). Details of Phaulkon's quarrel with Bishop Laneau, arising out of the latter's insistence upon administering the Oath to three Dominicans from Goa.

5). Suggestions for composing the religious strife.

*The Oath* which was such a subject of contention is reproduced in the original Latin together with a brief abstract of its essential features in English.

*Phaulkon's letter to Mr. Fermiuelle*, Secretary of the French Foreign Mission in Paris, was written the day before his letter to the Pope denouncing the conduct of the French foreign Missionaries in the East. It contains no mention of the quarrel between Phaulkon and the Missionaries. It is written in flattering terms, possibly as a reminder of the debt which the Mission owed to Phaulkon for his patronage.

The letter bears on the reverse side a well preserved impression of Phaulkon's personal seal—a falcon among the Lilies of France, surmounted with a coronet to which he was entitled as Chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Michel.

*Bishop Laneau's letter to the Pope* explains the Bishop's attitude in the dispute with Phaulkon which the latter describes in the last part of his Memorandum.

The Bishop's duty, as Vicar Apostolic or Papal Representative, required him to exact the Oath from all Priests officiating in his diocese. A few years earlier, the Bishop had used his discretion to grant the very exemption for which Phaulkon pleaded in vain on behalf of the Dominicans in 1687. For doing so he received a severe reprimand from Rome in a letter dated December 1686, on receipt of which he wrote the letter here reproduced.

In it he admits that he used his own discretion on the occasion in question, and explained to the Pope the necessity which sometimes compels the Papal representatives in distant lands to act

upon their own judgement : he regrets that his action has not been approved, and he places his resignation in the hands of the Pope.

Both letter and Memorandum must have reached Rome simultaneously. Whatever their combined effect may have been, it is worth remembering that a letter exists, written by the Pope to Bishop Laneau in 1696, the year of the Bishop's death in Ayutthia. It is a generous recognition by the Pope of Mgr. Laneau's services, and an encouragement to him to persevere to the end.

Those who have read the numerous letters of Bishop Laneau and of his Missionaries will read the Memorandum with incredulity, since the letters leave no doubt at all of the essential goodness and zeal of the Bishop and of most of his helpers.

This conviction is fortified by the references to them contained in the Memoirs of Chevalier de Forbin—a soldier, sailor and man of the world, who came into contact with them in Siam in 1686.

Forbin makes no secret of the occasional human shortcomings which he observed among some of the priests. Such failings are liable to occur in any community, and his admission of them rather lends weight to the tribute which he pays to the character and work of the majority of the members of the Foreign Mission in Siam.



ITALIAN VERSION AT THE VATICAN (CARPEGNA 32) OF THE  
LETTER FROM PHAULKON TO POPE INNOCENT XI,  
WRITTEN IN PORTUGUESE AND PRESERVED AT THE PROPAGANDA FIDEI  
(Scr. Ref. V. 13. )

Santissimo Padre,

Havendo saputo all' arrivo del Padre Taciar a questa Corte l'honore che La Santità Vostra haveva fatto alla mia lettera con accettarla, hebbi un grandissimo dispiacere che l'indispositione del medesimo Padre in Parigi l'havesse impedito di andare da mia parte a bacciare i piedi all' S. V. e rappresentarle Le particolarità delle quali l'havevo incaricato molto importanti al servizio di Dio Nostro Signore, e alla propagatione della Sua Santa Fede in questa Oriente: poichè ben conosco il zelo e paterno affetto della S. V. non solamente in quel che tocca a questi parti ma ancora a quel che tocca a tutto l'universo, come altresì l'obligatione che ho avanti Iddio Nostro Signore di non passar sotto silentio nessuna a ciò spettante che venga a mio conoscenza. Il che supposto, spero che tutto quel che tratterò sopra questa materia sarà ben ricevuto ed approvato dalla S. V., nel che io confesso che non mi interesso per poco. Del resto col considerare che non si tratta di altro che del servizio della Santa Madre Chiesa, spero che la Materia da se medesima sia per procurarsi dalla S. V. un favorevole rescritto.

Ah Santissimo Padre, se La S.V. potesse vedere lo stato in cui si trova questa Chiesa e il canale che sta aperto alla propagatione della Santa Fede in questa maggior parte del Mondo senza violenza alcuna, anzi con somma dolcezza e soavità tanto grande che posso assicurare La S. V. no havessi la mira ad altro che ad una pietà sincera disinteressata da tutte le cose del Mondo, ed a togliere la confusione ed i scrupoli delle coscienze di tutta La Christianità di ques' Oriente, La Sua Santa Pietà prenderebbe per certo quelle misure che conven-gono alla gloria di Nostro Signore, poichè dove non è pace ne unione, poca speranza n'è della presenza di Dio.

La pietà di Beatissimi Pontefici antecessori della S. V. è stata grandissima. Con tutto ciò so che quei che havevano l'autorità dai Pontefici non han dato alla Santa Sede quelle ampie notizie che con-



venivano alla pace ed unione necessaria per il buon esempio alle anime nuovamente convertite al conoscimento di Dio, ma che al contrario le loro richieste non hanno mirato ad altro che ad accrescere la Loro potenza per dar da intendere ai popoli delle cose che La S. V. conoscerà dalle conseguenze, il quale abbastanza mi costò dal dispiaccio che ricevei quando intercedei per la pace e per la pietà che conveniva.

Ho da rappresentare alla S. V. troppo più che possa comprendersi in una lettera e così mi dimetterò ad un memoriale consegnato al sopradetto P. Taciar, segnato di mio mano per rappresentarlo alla S. V. con ogni rispetto e sommissione, e non dubito che abbia l'effetto che conviene al servizio di Nostro Signore, alla gloria della S. V. alla pace e quiete delle coscienze di migliaia di anime in quest' Oriente, le quali oltre molto havranno questa singolare obbligazione di pregare Dio N. S. per la longa vita della S. V.

Il Rè mio Signore non ha voluto differire di corrispondere ai Brevi della S. V. e così ha nominato il sopradetto P. Taciar per Suo inviato straordinario per salutare da Sua parte La S. V. e di assicurarla della Sua protezione e soccorso per tutti i religiosi e Christiani esssistanti non solo nei Suoi regni ma ancora in tutto l'Oriente, come ancora per informare La S. V. della Sua ottima volontà: del che La S. V. gusterà molto.

Il sopradetto Inviato presenterà alla S. V. da mia parte alcune cose di quest' Oriente alle quali prego la S. V. di far l'honore di accettarle, il che mi sarà di sommo gusto e consolatione: ed assieuro La S. V. che i suoi annuali comandi non mi saranno minori.

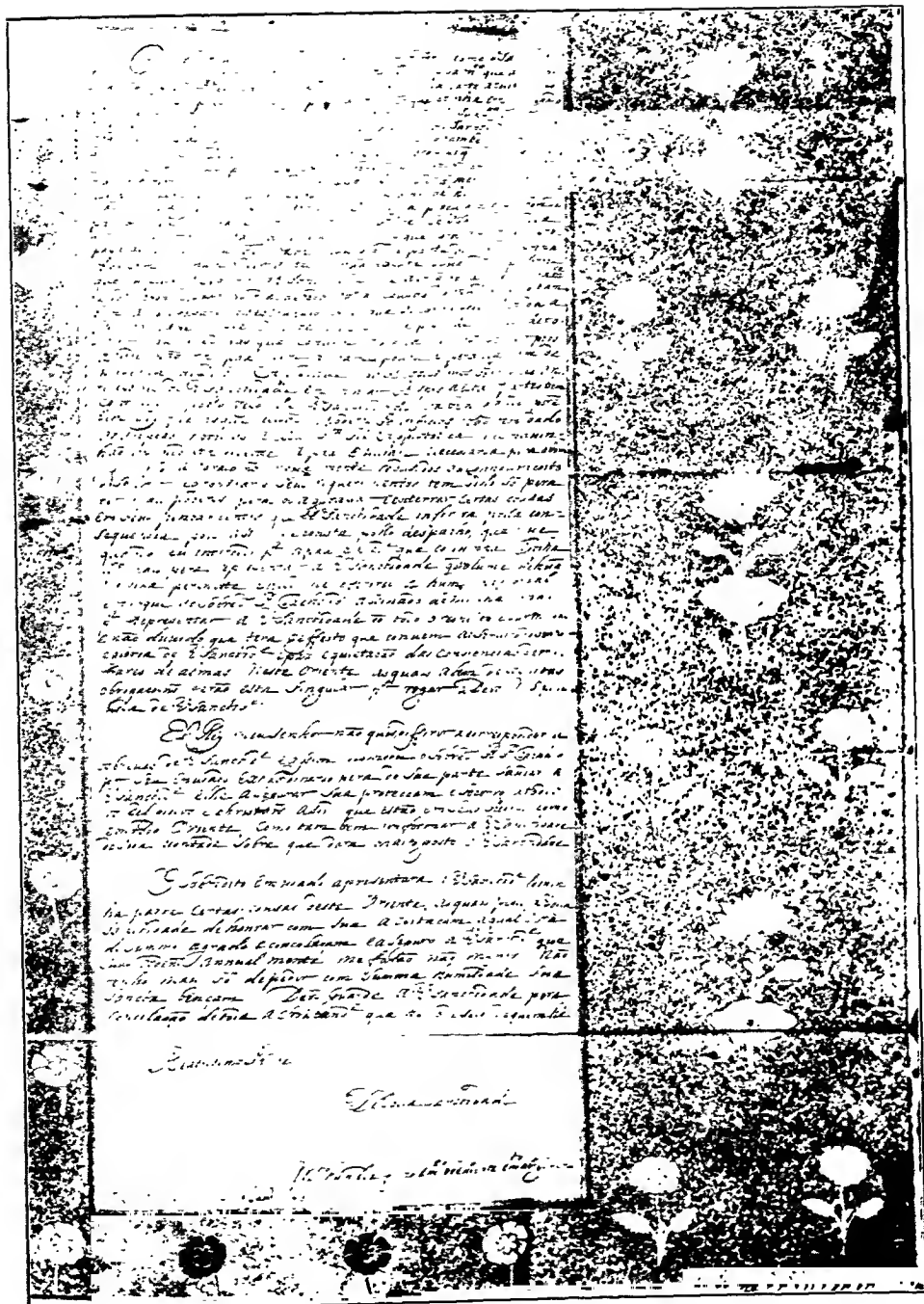
Non ho altro a domandare che con somma humilità la Sua Santa benedittione. L'Iddio conservi La S. V. per consolatione di tutta la Christianità—questo è il desiderio di che è Beatissimo Padre

Della Santità Vostra,

Molto humile figlio, molto ubbidiente, e molto obbligato servitore,  
Dalla Bara di Siam.

2. Gerni 1688.

C. PHAULKON.



Phaulkon's Letter to Pope Innocent XI.

Edna



Phaulkon's signature and seal

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ITALIAN VERSION OF PHAULKON'S  
LETTER TO THE POPE, DATED 2/1/1688, AT THE VATICAN.

(CARPEGNA 32.)

Most Holy Father,

Upon the arrival of Father Tachard at this Court, I learnt of the honour which Your Holiness had conferred upon me by accepting my letter; and I felt deep regret that this Father should have been detained at Paris by ill-health and prevented from going to Rome on my behalf to kiss the feet of Your Holiness and to communicate matters of great importance both for the service of Our Lord and for the spread of his Holy Gospel in this part of the East.

In charging him with this mission, I had in mind both the keen fatherly affection of Your Holiness for these lands and for the whole world, also the duty I owe to Our Lord God not to pass over in silence any matters affecting it which may come to my notice. I trust therefore that Your Holiness will accept with approval all that I write on this subject, in which I admit I am deeply concerned, and I rely upon the nature of my communication (which concerns the welfare of the Holy Mother Church) to secure for me a favourable reply.

Could you but see, Holy Father, the present state of the Church here, and the road that is open for spreading the Holy Gospel in this, the greater portion of the Earth, without appealing to force but with all gentleness and kindness,—(for I protest that my aims are pure and free from all worldly matters, being focussed upon the removal of the doubts and confusion that afflict the consciences of all Christians in this part of the East)—Your Holiness would doubtless take such steps as would be conducive to the glory of God; since where Peace and Unity are absent, there is small hope of God's presence.

Most eminent has been the piety of Your Holiness' predecessors, Popes of ever blessed memory; notwithstanding this, I know that their Delegates have failed to furnish the Holy See with such full reports as are desirable in the cause of that Peace and Unity so necessary by way of example to those newly converted to the knowledge of God, and that on the contrary, the

aim of all their claims has been solely to augment their own power by influencing popular opinion in matters which Your Holiness will learn from the sequel, as I learnt full well to my own cost when my mediation in the cause of peace and proper decency was dismissed.

I have more to submit to Your Holiness than can be contained in a letter: I am therefore having recourse to a Memorandum which I have signed with my own hand and entrusted to Father Tachard to pass on to Your Holiness with all respect and submission: I have no doubt that it will be effective in God's service for the honour of Your Holiness and for the peace and repose of thousands of consciences in these Eastern lands, whose special duty it is to pray God to grant Your Holiness a long life.

The King, my Master, desirous of replying directly to the letters of Your Holiness, has appointed the aforesaid Father Tachard as his special Envoy to greet Your Holiness with the assurance of his help and protection for all Christians, not only in his kingdom but in all the East, also to convey an assurance, which Your Holiness will much appreciate, of his very good will.

The same Envoy will offer to Your Holiness on my account sundry objects from this part of the East, which I beg Your Holiness to do me the honour to accept. This, I protest, will afford me as much pleasure and comfort as do the yearly orders which I receive from Your Holiness.

Nothing remains for me but to pray with all humility for Your Holiness. That Your life may be preserved to be a comfort for all Christians is the prayer of

Your Holiness'

Most humble son, and most obedient and most obliged servant,

C. PHAULKON.

Written from the Bar of Siam,  
2nd Jannary, 1688.

TO  
OUR HOLY LORD AND FATHER  
**POPE INNOCENT THE XIII**  
FROM  
**LORD CONSTANT PHAULKON**

Since Your Holiness is pleased to take such special interest in disseminating our Holy Faith, and cherishes such tender feelings for the Christian Community in this part of the East; since also a knowledge of all the circumstances relating thereto cannot but contribute, to the formation of conclusions and decisions worthy of the Glory of God, I for my part crave permission on behalf of the large Christian Community in Tonkin to submit certain matters in due order to Your Holiness, for the proper understanding of which I should explain to Your Holiness the former conditions enjoyed by these poor creatures and the origin of the desperate straits to which they have been reduced.

It is well known that the Fathers of the Company [of Jesus] were the first to preach the Gospel in Tonkin, and were for many years practically the only labourers in that Vineyard of the Lord, in which—as their Records relate — they were the victims of much persecution.

In the end, Fr. Fuciti was taken into favour by the King and by the greater part of the Royal Family, with the result that he was allowed to wear clerical dress, and the privileges he enjoyed were reflected up on his Church and Flock; furthermore, the respect in which the Jesuits were held was such as to warrant great hopes for the conversion of the entire population.

For reasons only known, as so often happens, to God's own infinite Providence, it pleased God to permit the Bishop of Beritus together with Mgr. Pallu to come in lay attire among the people with whom the Portuguese reside in Siam, and to be expelled from the settlement with much loss of dignity and mortal danger. After suffering much inconvenience, they [the Bishops] had recourse to the

expedient of obtaining credentials from the King of France, which took the form of a simple letter of introduction.

They spent six months haggling with the Siamese Court over the procedure required for the reception of this letter. The agreement which they finally made was that the aforesaid Gentlemen should carry the letter into a pavilion, where it was to be opened in the presence of the whole Court<sup>1</sup> excepting the Royal Family.

The next day, the letter was carried to the Royal audience chamber in a great golden bowl, and deposited upon a silver table, distant several paces from the throne.

The Bishops removed their shoes, and having put on new slippers at the entrance to the hall, proceeded to take their seat upon a carpet. Between them and the King stood the silver table on which was the letter and the presents which they brought from Europe.

A similar reception was accorded to the letter from Your Holiness.

His Majesty observed the favourable and gracious terms in which the Bishops were recommended to Him by Your Holiness and by the Most Christian King. He was pleased to take them under his protection and to bestow favours upon them on every occasion, as is known both to your Holiness and to His Most Christian Majesty.

Thus assured of support, the Bishops took counsel concerning Tonkin and Cochin-China. Having taken copious advice, they fitted out a small vessel for Tonkin under the command of a Frenchman named Domenil. [Dumesnil.] As however they set out somewhat late in the season, they were carried out of their course as far as Land's End [of the East where Manila is situated.] Here, as all the world knows,<sup>2</sup> Mgr. Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, took ship for Spain.

They, [the Bishops], being failed in their [first] attempt, made terms with an English trader plying between Siam and Tonkin. This man carried some of their Missionaries to Tonkin wearing the

1. Lit: "family."

2. He was arrested for landing in Spanish territory without a permit and sent to Spain in chains.

dress of laymen.

The latter straightway sought by sundry methods to suppress the Jesuit Fathers rather than to extend the [limits of] the Faith and to baptise the natives. Finding, however, that the Christians stood firm in their allegiance they had recourse to Rome, and sent false information to the College of Cardinals with such success that Fr. Fuciti and his colleagues were withdrawn. The latter were despoiled of their Churches, and of their houses, furniture, and all they possessed, they were also prohibited from re-entering Tonkin or Cochin-China by any route.

The King sent to Macao and threatened that city with his vengeance unless Jesuits were sent him.

Shortly afterwards, the Vicars began to ordain certain Christian [converts] to aid them in their Missionary work.

The next event was that the European Missionaries were denounced as being French traders,<sup>1</sup> and it was only with much difficulty that the Bishops were allowed to leave the city.

The result is that the only Ministrations available for these poor lambs are those of peasant priests, who lack the training and practice needed to perform their Ministry, and commit countless solecisms, which are not fitting to be mentioned to Your Holiness and which I should blush to relate even in private.

Such procedure in the guidance of the flock would occasion grave disorder even among the best Christians of Europe, and much more among natives whose faith is still in the bud. Can the reverence due to our Holy See in heathen lands be preserved intact, when Ministers are discovered living such lives?

It is a fact that at this moment more than 200,000<sup>2</sup> persons refuse Confession, Communion, the hearing of Mass, and the performance of the cultural duties incumbent upon them; and when they are overtaken by death, they invariably call in vain for the customary assistance.

1. Because of their lay dress. Scr. Ref. IV. 57.

The Bishop suggested wearing yellow robes, like the Buddhists, but Rome vetoed the idea in March 1685.

2. In the text—200m.



For these reasons they felt compelled to send four Catechists to implore me to intervene on their behalf with the Bishops to despatch a Jesuit Father to console them; and, if I could not procure it, to put them in the way of obtaining a passage to Europe, in order that they might prostrate themselves at the feet of Your Holiness and unfold the wretched condition of their consciences, and beg for the proper and customary assistance.

When informed of this, I insisted upon the presence of one of the Bishop's Missionaries at the interview which I accorded to these Catechists.

After listening to the exposure of their case—as already stated—and though strongly impressed by its justice, I urged them to submit to the orders of the Holy Mother Church. I told them that such submission would afford Your Holiness a real pretext for assisting them in the way they desired, while their present head-strong action only served to prejudice the Apostolic See against them and against the Jesuit Fathers. I urged that since all Ministers are Ministers of Christ, it is unseemly to draw distinctions between the sacraments administered by individuals, which sacraments should be received in deep humility, if they are to be pleasing to God; and that the shortcomings of the aforesaid Ministers can do them no injury in their devotions, and can only hurt the Ministers themselves.

They replied with much reserve that they knew this full well, but that the Christians were so disgusted by the evil exhibition that they were incapable of receiving such counsels unless accompanied by a change [of staff]. They urged repeatedly that in any case the Missionaries from Europe were powerless to heal the wounds caused by the instructors they themselves had chosen.

I stated my conviction that if the Christians would submit to Your Holiness, their prayers would obtain from Your Holiness both a reversal of the Interdiction against the Jesuits, and the despatch of many members of that order to console them.

They replied that for their part they would much appreciate such a gracious favour, but that the Christians were so incensed against those who had separated them from their original Ministers, whom they looked upon as their very Fathers, that, unless a Jesuit

returned to instruct them, there was no prospect of a settlement, but rather of increased disorder. They therefore humbly begged me on behalf of the dissatisfied Christians either to obtain the Bishop's permission for a Jesuit to be sent to them pending the pleasure of Your Holiness to apply a remedy, or else to assist them to go in person and lay themselves at the feet of Your Holiness and crave protection for their constituents together with the concession of that which would bring solace to so many thousand souls, a large number of whom were passing to the life beyond without the benefit of any Sacrament.

These words, Most Holy Father, made so deep an impression upon my mind that I was at a loss for a reply, since I felt compelled to procure their request, supported as it was by such a reasonable appeal to the justice of their case.

I said, therefore, that I would discuss the matter with the Bishop, and that I was certain that he would be good enough to afford them relief and save them from having to confront all the dangers of the deep merely to obtain the performance of what would be held by Your Holiness to be a binding duty.

Knowing however that the King of France had definitely forbidden the French Jesuits<sup>1</sup> to take the Oath drawn up by the "Propaganda"; fearing also that if I approached the Bishop on the subject, he might make his consent dependent upon the willingness of the selected Envoy to take the Oath I felt unable to reply, even conditionally, until I had sounded Fr. Fontenai the leader of the six French Jesuits, concerning his intentions.

The following day I sent for Fr. Fontenai and explained the circumstances of the Christian flock in Tonkin, telling him that it would be an easy matter for him to bring to the Christians in Tonkin the succour that they crave, an action which would be welcome both to Your Holiness and to the King his master. His reply was that though ready to perform all the duties incumbent upon him, he was nevertheless unable, in defiance of the "Propaganda's" prohibition, to

1. Six Jesuit astronomers, including Tachard, came out with de Chaumont's embassy in 1685, and twelve more in 1687 with La Loubère.

send a Jesuit to Tonkin.

Meeting the Bishop a few days later, I informed him of all the aforesaid troubles, but said nothing about the steps contemplated in the event of his refusal to help.

I brought forward every conceivable argument in support of the justice of the case; but all that I got in reply was that the transference of a Jesuit was outside his jurisdiction.

He gave vent to his impatience with both Jesuits and Catechists, minimising the numbers of those who are affected, and asserting that it was possible that things might mend of themselves, since they were less desperate than I represented them.

I submitted to him the many sources of information I possessed apart from the Catechists. These he could not deny; but he remained firm, and swept away all my arguments with the reiteration that it was outside his jurisdiction to send a Jesuit to Tonkin.

I made no secret of my surprise that His Grace, as Controller of the Mission in Tonkin had sent no report on the position of affairs there, where more than 4,000 Christians were dying every year unshriven, more particularly since the limits of his jurisdiction forbade him to apply the remedy indicated.

I added that the return of the Jesuits was called for in the interest both of justice and of present needs, and told him that Your Holiness and the Propaganda had been previously misinformed, and that if His Grace denied to so many souls the consolation they required, I personally should complain of it to Your Holiness.

He admitted that there was nothing to prevent me from writing a complaint but he doubted whether my letter would ever get as far as Your Holiness.

I told him that I could not believe that Rome was so impervious to the reception of the truth, as he made out; and that where the salvation of a single soul was involved, such behaviour would merit the Divine disapproval, and all the more where so many thousand souls were involved.

I urged that the distress of all these new converts, who only needed the presence of one of God's Ministers to satisfy them, constituted an elementary duty for His Grace towards God, and that

it was worth his while to ponder on the offence and injury which our Holy Religion would suffer in the natives estimation, when they observed the uncompromising harshness of the leaders of the Church and the lack of harmony amongst them.

I charged all this on his conscience and held him answerable before God for it, stating my conviction that the goodness and kindly zeal of Your Holiness would instantly apply the needed balm as soon as the trouble was known.

In conclusion, I showed my disappointment at the discovery that all the favours I had showered upon the Church out here had not won me a concession which depended so completely upon him.

Every imaginable argument which I could adduce in the cause of justice and commonsense, supported by precedents drawn from sacred and profane history, was powerless to extract anything more from him than a repetition of his previous answers.

Not only did the Bishop refuse my so just request, but his dependents took it upon themselves to raise their voices against the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, threatening that their General would be called upon in Rome to account for their actions out here, firstly for agitating to go to Tonkin in spite of the prohibition, secondly for alienating the sympathies of a Minister of the King: which I frankly assure Your Holiness is the reverse of the truth.

Some days afterwards, when the Bishop was about to proceed to Ayüt'ia, he asked Fr. Fontenai to tell me that, on thinking it over, he felt he owed me some degree of satisfaction in the Tonkin business. Although compelled to proceed to Ayüt'ia, he promised, when there, not to forget his obligation. This he confirmed from Ayüt'ia in writing some days later by the hand of Mr. de la Vignée. On returning to Lopburi, he told me that if I could wait until the next sailing of the fleet after this one, he might be able to allow one or more Jesuits to go to Tonkin, but that under existing circumstances it was dangerous.

On the arrival here of the twelve French Jesuits, I felt it my duty before God, and therefore on behalf of Your Holiness, to endeavour to obtain the despatch of some of these Fathers to Tonkin, as the Bishop had promised. At the same time, I determined to ask

the Bishop his opinion in the presence of Mr. Céberet—the Envoy of the Most Christian King—and of all the leading ecclesiastics.

I omit the account of that discussion, and leave it to Fr. Tachard to relate it to Your Holiness. It will then be seen that the Bishop, though he promised to consult with Fr. Tachard, never mentioned the matter to him at all; just as though the souls which were perishing were of no account. When I taxed him with the question whether those souls should be allowed to perish, his answer was: "If it is their wish so to perish, what can we do?"

Seeing therefore that no hope remained through that channel of bringing consolation to those poor Christians, I determined to allow their representatives to go and prostrate themselves at the feet of Your Holiness, and to crave a blessing and a gracious favour which will bring relief to all those souls who will ever be constrained to pray for the health, long life and happiness of Your Most Holy Person.

Knowing with all the world Your Holiness' zeal and renown, I have nothing to add on this subject, but feel serene and confident in the protection of Your Holiness, who will order affairs in that kingdom to the Glory of God and of Your Holiness, since I hold it my duty merely to inform Your Holiness of the true version of what has happened, and to carry out the orders that it may please Your Holiness to give me.

Cochin-China<sup>1</sup> is likewise in a sorry plight, but with this difference that, whereas in Tonkin there is unwillingness to attend Confession until the Jesuit Fathers are re-admitted to the country, in Cochin-China Confessions are made to Clerical Missionaries, with whom in many cases proper relations subsist. But of a truth, these French Clerics and especially the Apostolic Pro-Vicar, make the most astounding demands. They require that Christians who have confessed to a Jesuit should repeat their Confession to them, as though the original Confession was not a Sacrament, and therefore invalid. The individual has to stand at the head of the Altarsteps with his face to the congregation and implore God's pardon

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1. The present country of Annam was known as Cochin-China, a name applied later to the Mekhong delta when overrun by the Annamites.

for having confessed to a Jesuit, and declare that his Confession was invalid.

Many of the common people have obeyed this order; but many others, comprising the best and most influential persons, refuse, saying that if they make a second confession, it is in the belief that the sins already confessed to the Jesuits will by virtue of this second confession receive absolution, without any declaration in public.

Others, goaded by the scandalous madness of the Pro-Vicar, have committed actions displeasing to him; but when they repented and went to him for absolution, it was such that occasionally he and his Ministers are found in the Gallies.\*

They have written all this to many people such as their friends and the Lord Bishop who receives suggestions<sup>1</sup> from one quarter that he intercede, from another that he should grant [their desires], from yet another that he issue a personal appeal for peace and quiet to relieve the conscientious objectors. But it is all to no purpose, in spite of the fact that I have often and most tactfully asked the Bishop only to deign just to relieve the Pro-Vicar from his charge, and to put an end to the abuses of which the Christians were complaining.

I believe the Lord Bishop did give orders regarding the latter, but for the former request he excused himself on the grounds that as the man was Pro-Vicar, he could not be removed, though selected and appointed by His Grace himself.

The same people made the same complaints year by year, and always with the same result, until finally in disgust with the shepherds given them they have become unwilling either to confess or to receive Communion.

May Your Holiness be pleased to examine the two enclosures entitled *Cochin-China*, which explain the conditions upon which the welfare of the Christians in Cochin-China depends.

The present Pro-Vicar was preceded first by Mr. Vachet, and before him by Mr. Courtaulier. Your Holiness may infer the type

\* The text appears to be corrupt: "Fu tale l'assoluzione che poche volte si trova nelle Galere e nei ufficiali."

1. The text is corrupt: "Che udendo da uno di intercedere."

of men they were from the fact that they were removed on account of the scandals they occasioned.

Some years ago, the Lord Bishop of Heliopolis took letters of introduction from Europe to Cochin-China, but met there with a reception far different from the welcome accorded to him in Siam; and this, in spite of the fact that his Followers are eager to be well received in those lands—as I only wish they were, but I know that they are not.

*China*. [The French], being but recent comers to China, are less able to cause scandals there than in Tonkin, Cochin-China and Siam.

They have a good counterpoise in the Bishop of Argoli,<sup>1</sup> a Franciscan from Venice, who came to Siam by way of Batavia as Coadjutor to Lord Francis,<sup>2</sup> the Bishop of Heliopolis, but was not permitted to accompany him into China. For this reason, and because they were victims of other vexatious treatment at the Seminary, he left it and came to me with a request for a site where he could retire with his attendants while awaiting an opportunity of proceeding with them to China. They were poor Capucins; and the Mission would not give them anything. In consequence, I had to provide them with board and lodging out of the proceeds of an annual grant allowed them by the King my master, in addition to helping them on their way to China.

When eventually they reached China, they found that Lord Francis<sup>2</sup> was dead. The Bishop of Argoli claimed the right of succeeding him, but was disappointed on finding that Lord Francis, before he died, had handed on his office to Mr. Maigrot. This was the cause of some slight friction between them, since the Venetian won every heart in his district by his kindly manners.

In *Cambodia*<sup>3</sup> there are many Christians, but only a single Jesuit, a man named Sanga, of Japanese origin.

1. Fra Bernadino della Chiesa, for whose letters of complaint see Ser. Ref. III. 207. etc.
2. Mr. François Pallu.
3. Cambodia was distracted by wars beginning in 1651 with the Annamite invasion.

Although the Kingdom is large and well-disposed [to foreigners], the Bishops have never been there. All they have done is on one occasion to send Mr. Courtelin, and on another one a Franciscan of Portuguese origin, who only escaped expulsion from his charge and from his Order by reason of the protection he enjoyed from Your Holiness and his Superior in Rome.

Neither of these men was able to remain long in Cambodia, which lacks the amenities offered by other lands.

The Jesuit feeling the approach of death, wrote last July to Fr. Maldonato,<sup>1</sup> his Superior, and to me, asking that some Father be sent to Cambodia to receive his confession and to take care of the Christians after his death. Both Fr. Maldonato and I have submitted his request to the Lord Bishop many times, but without result. His reply has always been that he has no one he can send, though anyone can see that there is no lack of Clerical Missionaries in Siam. It is only too true that none of them care to take up their abode in so poor and savage a land. For this reason, it is my belief that they would not veto the despatch of Jesuits to Cambodia, if the King my Master was to consent to spare some of the Jesuits for Cambodia out of those he has asked the King of France to send him.

*Jansalem*<sup>2</sup> and its dependencies. There used to be a Father of the French Mission there, but for reasons unknown to me, he left his flock unprovided with the Sacraments of the Church, and it is now six months since he returned here.

I was very surprised to see him here, and asked him outright to what man he had handed over his charge. "To no one," he replied, without a blush—and he hoped his Superiors would not take his departure ill, since he had remained there long enough without relief.

Your Holiness may picture the surprise I felt at hearing this statement.

Briefly stated, my rejoinder was that the Governor of Puket<sup>1</sup> should have known better than permit him to leave before a substitute had been arranged; and that I should make it my duty to

1. A Portuguese.

2. Junk Ceylon—i. e. Puket.



prevent a repetition of this case in future.

When I mentioned it to the Bishop a few days later, he showed such indifference that I felt compelled to exclaim that in his place I should be less insensible than he was to the loss of the souls of all who die in that province, adding that Your Holiness would disapprove and that I deplored such an attitude.

He assured me that in future he would arrange matters to the satisfaction of both Your Holiness and of myself. Up to the present moment, however, I have seen no indication of it.

*Tenasserim and Mergui.* This locality was served originally by a Portuguese Missionary appointed by the Bishop. He was a good man;<sup>2</sup> but some years ago he came back [here] and only paid occasional visits to the Mergui Christians.

The Lord Bishop intended to post the Franciscan at Mergui whose departure from Cambodia I have noticed. He recalled him here however from Tenasserim after two months and the state of disorder remains unchanged.

*Sundry Stations on the River of Siam.* To begin with, there is Fr. Chaudeloy's settlement three miles out of Bangkok. He used to preside there over sundry Christians; and the aforesaid Lord Vicar would often go to stay with him there.

Two years ago I transferred there 400 Christians from jungle resorts before Lopburi, in order that they, being totally ignorant of God, might live near that Father and obtain baptism.

The results, thank God, were good, for many of them have been converted. But just when the full harvest was due to be gathered that Priest was transferred to the mastership of the Seminary where he died: all that community was thus left without anyone capable of directing their souls.

*Sankok.*<sup>3</sup> Sankok is a village of Môn<sup>4</sup> and Siamese inhabitants on the River Menam. The spiritual control of this place was entrusted to a Franciscan from Rome, who was supported there. It

1. René Charbonneau, who came out as Mission doctor, was for a time Governor of Puket.

2. Fr. Perez—see Davenport's Diary.

3. Sankok.

4. Lit. = Peguan.

happened. I was anxious to send someone to Europe to rebuild the Church in which I was baptised, and to obtain a favour for my family from the Republic of Venice. The Lord Vicar therefore let me have [the services of] this brother, and promised that his place should be taken by another: but up to now he has not fulfilled his promise, in spite of my intercessions for those Christians left completely destitute.

*Siam.*<sup>1</sup> These gentry now keep up three establishments in the city of Siam. In the first place, the Seminary, in which the King, my master, has already erected a big building and a Church is now nearly completed. The value of constructions made by the King amounts to 60,000 pieces of eight,<sup>2</sup> but when it is finished I know not where the Christians will be found to use it.

I could wish they [the Missionaries] had learnt the language well enough to be able to convince men instead of condemning them, as they do now. I assure Your Holiness, they make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the natives, and to hear them speak Siamese is like hearing a Scotsman speak English: while all the good they accomplish is to sing Mass and Vespers, and make experiments on the poor creatures in their hospital. Their intentions are good: but they lack the power and ability to produce results comparable with their aims: and this impells them to commit all sorts of blunders in order to put themselves right.

Their second establishment is at Mapram<sup>3</sup> where they bring up some pupils in conditions that are sordid in respect of board, lodging and clothing. But it is only right that the pupils should be well looked after, in order that there may be encouragement for them to come, and for their parents to bring them.

Being opposed to such parsimony, I asked what their annual expenses were. I was told that 250 pieces of eight are spent for 80 pupils and two priests also that at Rome their pupils had been

1. An alternative name for Ayūṭ'ia.
2. Rix Dollar, or Riat worth four English shillings or one French écu.
3. Mahāprām, on the right bank of the Anṭōng river, a few miles above Ayūṭ'ia.

warmly commended. This led me to ask how it was that they were taking no steps to alleviate the condition of penury under which they laboured. Considering that their pupils, so far from serving any useful purpose, constituted a reproach to the Faith, I determined to improve their lot, and to bring them into the city, where I have founded a big College for 100 pupils, 4 Fathers and a Governor, which costs me 1,500 pieces of eight a year.

The death of Mr. Mondorin is a great grief to me, since his industry, good manners and ample learning fitted him well for the task of educating those youths; and there is no one fit to replace him.

*Luco*,<sup>1</sup> There is a Royal House where the Sacraments are administered to believers, but the Pastor is such a subject of scandal that I blush to mention it to Your Holiness.

There is another station in the Porceluk<sup>2</sup> Province for a Priest and a Franciscan Friar, both men of good repute; from the evidence of their letters, copies of which are enclosed, I have hope that they will render service to God.

Having completed my relation of the affairs of the Christian community, I now ask leave to make a few short reflections, to the end that Your Holiness may judge whether the things mentioned are for the good of God's Church. I ask:-

1. [If Clerical attire is] one of the functions of our Church, is it proper [for priests] to wear lay dress in places where Christianity has penetrated?

2. Is it proper that the bearer of letters from Your Holiness and the Most Christian King should be stultified<sup>3</sup> by the arrangements made [for his reception]; since those letters were intended to serve as introductions for them on all occasions, and to be a source of sure protection in this country?

3. Is it seemly that Ministers of the Gospel, who are permitted to wear their clerical dress, should be excluded in favour of others in lay attire, indistinguishable from merchants, as the Bishops

1. Lopburi.

2. Bân Pa Deng near Pitsanulok.

3. The text is corrupt. "Di disponer le cose in tal maniera che restava annilito (annichilito?) avanti di dichiararsi il portatore delle Lettere.

and priests in Tonkin advertise themselves to be ?

4). Is it lawful to carry off a neighbour's goods under the professed sanction of the Holy See, causing scandal to the heathen and new converts ?

5). In the light of Christ's authority given to his followers to preach the Gospel in all parts of the earth, is it lawful without the weightiest reasons, to hinder this consummation by depriving the regular clergy of their heritage, and by expelling them from the Churches they have founded, although the most suitable men for the ministry are to be found in their ranks ?

6). Can the Apostolic Missionaries permit the employment here of men, illiterate, untested, attached to no religious Order, of unbridled lusts,—men who in Europe serve only for the humblest duties of the Church, but who are made head over all in the East, where patience, abstinence, prudence and other virtues are essential ?

7). Can anything be expected from Apostolic Missionaries who have made no study of philosophy and theology if no rigorous selection is to be made of candidates for the East ?

8). Can it be right to admit to Holy Orders men who are so ignorant and depraved that they offend even the coarsest of the Christians ?

9). Can such harsh and unkind [treatment] of those in Cochinchina be right, when they have given up their homes and their property in order to maintain the Faith out there ?

10). Since the Apostolic Vicars have no one they can spare to look after those souls, what object can they have in preventing others who are willing from going to them ?

A discussion of these questions would detain me too long, and I know that Your Holiness may be relied upon to promulgate the orders required.

I now desire to lay before Your Holiness certain actions on the part of the Apostolic Vicars which would have resulted without a doubt in their banishment, if it were not for the protection they enjoy with Your Holiness.

Your Holiness will know that the Portuguese administer two

Churches with more than 400 souls in this place.<sup>†</sup> These Churches were always under the Bishopric of Malacca until the capture of that place by the Dutch; after which they were transferred to the Archbishop of Goa, the Primate and spiritual head of India.

After the arrival in Siam of the Apostolic Vicars, the King of Portugal wrote several very strong letters forbidding all his subjects to render allegiance to the aforesaid Vicars; and the same procedure was taken by the head-church in Goa.

In 1683 a Portuguese Embassy came to this Court to complain of the persecution inflicted by the Vicars on the Portuguese, who had lived in peace for so many years under the aegis of the King, my master and to entreat him to accord them his continued protection.

The King, my master, made excuses for the aforesaid Vicars, and denied all knowledge of any ill-treatment inflicted on the Portuguese behind his back. He repeated what he had said when the Bishop of Heliopolis complained [*of this embassy*] to the King during an audience granted to him.

I would ask Your Holiness to observe that the King of Siam not only broke off negotiations with the Portuguese Ambassador on this account but informed the Bishop of Heliopolis that the nature of the vexations [complained of] was so monstrous that he could not credit them and acquitted [the Bishop] of the charge.

This year, by the terms of a general circular from Goa to the members of the Order of Dominicans to which he belonged, Dom Peter Martyr was appointed Vicar and Commissioner of the Sacred Office for the Portuguese.

The Father is of a quiet an unwarlike disposition, and I persuaded him, when he showed me his letter of introduction from the Vicar General of Goa, to work under the Apostolic Vicar and take the Oath. This he did on the understanding that the Bishop should leave his attendants alone, since they were due to leave in September and not to reside here.

The Bishop made no objection, and promised to leave them alone, on the condition that they took no part in the functions of the parish priest.

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<sup>†</sup> Ayūt'ia.

Some days later, the Bishop told me, when I called on him, that he proposed to write an exhortation to the aforesaid Dominicans, and he was glad I should know of it.

To this I replied that His Grace was bound to do so, provided they were open to receive his admonition; but that if, as I believed to be the case, they were not, then it was useless. He said however that he could not excuse himself from this duty.

I immediately rejoined: "My Lord, if Your Grace would but permit these priests to serve without taking the Oath, I believe that then they would take it."

This [permission], he said, was impossible. I therefore begged His Lordship to do whatever would be conducive to the general welfare and peace of mind, provided it involved nothing detrimental to the King, my master. I reminded him that the reasons for their rebellion against His Majesty which were adduced by the Macassars, Malays, and other Mohammedans was that he favoured the Christians to the prejudice of all other creeds, which rebellion involved great peril for the King, the country, and the whole Christian community.

Shortly afterwards, this Friar, Peter Martyr, came and complained to me that the Bishop had insisted that his two Companions should submit, and threatened them with diverse penalties.

I was astounded at this Prelate's action. ...<sup>1</sup>. [The King] sent for me and instructed me to tell the Bishop on his behalf that he must on no account disturb the peace of those enjoying his Royal protection, adding that he would rejoice if the rulers of Europe would arrange matters in the West, so as to leave the people in Eastern lands in peace.

One day, on meeting the Bishop, without disclosing the King's sentiments I gave him some advice which I supported with excellent reasons for over an hour; but I obtained nothing from him of any value, since his unmoveable obstinacy balked me and eluded all reasoning. I was therefore compelled to disclose the sentiments of the King, my master, to him.

What was my astonishment to perceive that even this had no effect. For after his return from Ayütia, he came to me and

1. The words "Il Rè" must be supplied to make sense.

announced that he had sent those Dominicans a private letter, in which he had suspended them. He said he feared greatly that his action might cause offense to the King, my master, but that his duty left him no alternative.

I made no secret of my amazement at his scant regard for His Majesty's orders, which had so just a foundation, and I confessed my anxiety as to how His Majesty would take the news, heartily praying he might not hear of it, though I did not see now it could be kept from his ears.

A few days later the Bishop asked me if all was quiet in the Portuguese settlement.

Without admitting that it was, I expressed my hopes that His Grace, after what he had told me already, would not fail in his obligation, and that I was under no illusion concerning the danger to which he [and his friends] had exposed both themselves and the whole Mission, since heathen Kings are no more tolerant than their Christian brothers of trifling with their orders.

The Bishop's answer was that rather than expose himself a second time to a reproof from Rome, he would go in person and prostrate himself before Your Holiness and ask for pardon.

I rejoined that he was free to act in his own way, and that it was not for me to advise him; but that as he was now fully warned on this subject, it was his business to see what steps he should take.

I then returned to the charge, and emphasised the wrongness of what he had done, adding:—

“Your Grace claims that your conscience will not be at rest  
“until those two priests have been suspended; nevertheless, I fail to  
“see what good that will do; since, even supposing that the priests  
“did submit to be suspended, the result would be that half the  
“Christian community would be deprived of their sacraments, for  
“Your Grace is aware that the Portuguese will not confess to Priests  
“who acknowledge Your Grace, and a single priest is not able by  
“himself to minister to so many, and the Jesuits do not yet know  
“the language; while in the event of those priests refusing to  
“acquiesce in their suspension Your Grace must see what a scandal  
“will be caused, since Our Holy Mother Church only applies suspen-

"sion in the last resort, but makes use of the many arguments she possesses for bringing home a conviction of error."

I then left him, seeing that all I did was of no effect.

Two or three days later, His Majesty asked me how the affair had gone. In telling him, I did my best to minimise the trouble and to dissuade him from doing what justice demanded. I suggested that things should be left as they were until the departure of the French ships, after which His Majesty would be able quietly to bring home to them a realisation of their blunder.

The King said several times how sorry he was that they were Christians, since otherwise he would have treated them differently, so as to demonstrate how he respects his protégés.

I ask Your Holiness to observe the danger in which I was involved by their action. Had the advice I gave them proceeded from the lips of a heathen minister, they would have been forced to treat him with great deference and to carry out his suggestions faithfully, whereas, in my case, they hold me of no account, which is not surprising, since they treat me as they treat my King. They believe<sup>1</sup> they are safe, and thus able to do anything they wish; but may it not be that they are mistaken, since the Lord has many ways by which to help His Church?<sup>2</sup>

As for me my hope, Most Blessed Father, is that Your Holiness will initiate a great work and be blessed with long life, good health and happy increase with which to adorn it in the eyes of God, also that Your Holiness will appreciate, as I imagine, my opinion upon the measures required out here to regulate the disorders, which are more extensive than I have time to relate. I hope that Fr. Tachard will render a full account of them to Your Holiness, yet I cannot here refrain from suggesting several absolutely necessary measures.

I will here address myself to Your Holiness as to an angel

1. The text is "negano" = "deny" but the sense requires the opposite meaning.
2. This sentence has been translated in the form of a question in order to improve the sense.



of God, whose function it is to judge us all with no other end in view than the welfare of the Faith and of the people in these lands, also the good name and prestige of the Holy Catholic Church which is now brought low by the contempt of the Gentiles and the dissatisfaction of the converts at the stern and harsh action of its ministers.

In the first place, the Jesuits must be re-admitted to Tonkin, and the Vicars must be forbidden from ordaining any native until his conduct has been examined in some college or general seminary. Furthermore, those natives already ordained should be quietly transferred to Siam and trained in the manner that seems best to their superiors.

In Cochín-China it will be necessary to remove the Pro-Vicar and several others who are a disgrace and send in their place several Jesuits urgently demanded by the King and the Christian community.

In China, the Church is in fairly good order, if we are to believe the written reports. In my opinion, the Bishop of Argoli will give a good account of his charge, and will hold the scales fairly, and prevent any possibility of a disturbance of the peace and quiet enjoyed by the Christians.

With the assistance of God and of Your Holiness, I hope to build up a great Christian community in Cambodia especially in the Court, since the King is under my King's protection.<sup>†</sup>

In this way, I hope to gain privileges for the Gospel as well as the King's protection [for the Christians]. Since the Siamese are not without interest in the conversion of Cambodia, the religion in both Countries being identical as I have explained at greater length in my discussion with Fr. Tachard, and he will have the good fortune to communicate it to Your Holiness.

#### BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE ESSENTIAL TERMS OF "THE OATH".

The subscriber attests that the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters is universal. Without obtaining the sanction of this authority, not even Kings may send out Missions.

The subscriber agrees to conform to the orders of the Holy

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<sup>†</sup> Cambodia accepted Siamese suzerainty as a protection against encroachment by Annam.

See to avoid all discussion about the spiritual management of his own district; to obtain the sanction of the Apostolic Vicars before administering the Sacraments; to refrain from criticising any ecclesiastical pronouncements; to accept with reverence all the Papal Decrees in particular those of 23rd. Decr, 1673. and the Decree of 7th June 1674.

The subscriber promise; to obey all Decrees which may be promulgated in the future, and to accept without demur any penalties he may incur for breach of this Oath.

Sworn by the help of God and of His Holy Gospels.

FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE. ASIE-INDES ORIENTALES VOL. 2  
Nos. 17, 64, 66.

#### FORMULA JURAMENTI.

Cum summus Pontifex supremam et independentem pro spirituali animarum regimine in universo terrarum orbe habeat auctoritatem, nec ad mittendos operarios (qui Religionem Christianam Fidemque Catholicam apud infideles, et nominatim in Synarum, Tunchini. Camboiae, Siami aliisque vicinis Regnis et provinciis praedicent, annuncient, robovent, et promoveant) ullius fidelis aut infidelis cujusvis status, gradus, conditionis ac dignitatis, etiam regiae existat licentia vel consensu indigeat, Ego...N... fideliter incunbam officio meo in Missione juxta Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae mandata, et facultatem ab ea praescriptam.

Quod si per quoscunque de meo consilio circa Missiones, et earum administrationem in illis partibus quocunque nomine, titulo, vel praetextu requisitus fuero, ea in re nullo modo me ingeram; sed judicio Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae relinquens, tantum muneri mihi incumbenti operam dabo.

Praedicationem verbi Dei, sacramentorum administrationem aliudve ecclesiasticum munus quodcumque in locis Vicariorum Apostolicorum curae commissis nunquam exercebo, quibuscunque privilegiis propriis vel meae Religionis vel aliis quibusvis munitus existam, nisi prius ab ipsis Vicariis Apostolicis fuerim approbatus, et ab iisdem licentiam in scriptis acceperim.

In examine bullarum, constitutionum seu aliarum quarumcum-

que litterarum Apostolicarum vel Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, aut quorumcumque decretorum ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide nunquam me intronittam, vel impediam sub quovis praetextu, aut etiam legitimae subreptionis aut obreptionis causa, vel alia quacumque; sed easdem sententias et decreta quaecumque semper cum debita reverentia recipiam, iisque-ut par est-obediendo Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae postmodum exponam, si quae contra earundem litterarum vel decretorum usum opportuna videbuntur nunquam tamen retardata executione.

Ordines Sanctae Sedis et signanter constitutiones summorum Pontificum Alexandri VII, Clemens IX, et Clemens X omni qua deest reverentia recipio, et amplector, et nominatim litteras Apostolicas in forma brevis expeditas, quarum initium "Decet Romanum Pontificem," datas die 23 Decembris 1673, quibus confirmantur Brevia et Constitutiones ac etiam Decreta Sanctae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide ad favorem Vicarium Apostolicarum apud Synas deputatorum emanata, et alias quarum initium "Christianae Religionis Charitas et Catholicae Fidei etc" emanatas die septimo Junii 1674, quibus declaratur ordinarios Indiarum non posse exercere actus Jurisdictionales in dictos Vicarios Apostolicos eorumque Provinciariorum et operarios in provinciis sibi assignatis, sed eisdem Vicariis in dictis provinciis Jurisdictionem privatam quoad omnes competere,-et alias incipientes "Illius qui Charitas est etc." expeditas die 23 Decembris 1673, quibus etiam severe prohibetur omnibus ecclesiasticis saecularibus et regularibus ne quisquam emendicet, procuret, vel acceptet ab ordinariis Indiarum litteras quascumque pro exercenda jurisdictione in locis eisdem Vicariis commissis,-et demum non solum praefatis omnibus constitutionibus et in eis contentis decretis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, sed etiam aliis quibuscumque in futurum in favorem etiam Vicariorum Apostolicorum emanabunt, constitutionibus et decretis fideliter et integre parebo.

Praemissa omnia et singula inviolabiter observabo, et absque ulla tergiversatione adimplebo.

Si autem,-quod Deus avertat-quoquomodo contravenerim, me toties quoties id evenerit, poenis tam per praedictas constitutiones

quam per Decretum Sanctae Congregationis a Sancto Domino nostro Innocentio Papa XI approbatum, quo praesentis juramenti formula praescripta est, respective impositis sponte et libere subicio. Ita tactis Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis promitto, voveo, juro. Sic me Dens adjuvet, et haec Sancta Dei Evangelia.

LECT'S SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Ego.....N.....manu propria.

PHaulkon's LETTER TO MONSIEUR FERMANELLE.

DATED 1ST JANUARY 1688.

(MISSIONS ETRANGERES. VOL. 862, NO. 347).

A Monsieur.

Monsieur Fermanelle,  
Procureur Général du Séminaire des  
Missions Etrangères, Rue du Bac, à Paris.

Monsieur,

Ce n'est pas pour vous témoigner ma reconnaissance que je vous ai envoyé le Crucifix dont vous me remerciez si fort, mais pour vous marquer mon amitié.

Vous pouvez croire que j'ai été fâché de ce que les Ambassadeurs ne vous ont pas trouvé à Paris: je ne doute point, sachant votre zèle pour le service du Roi, mon maître, que vous ne leur eussiez rendu de très grands services. Nous ne devons pourtant que nous louer très fort de l'attention et de l'empressement que Messieurs du Séminaire de Paris ont eus dans toutes les occasions où ils ont pu contribuer à leur satisfaction.

En mon particulier je suis obligé de vous remercier de toutes vos honnêtetés à mon égard, et de vous assurer que je suis de tout mon coeur,

Monsieur.

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

A la Barre de Siam.

1er Janvier 1688.

C. PHaulkon.

## TRANSLATION.

To Mr. Fermanelle,

General Secretary of the Seminary of The Foreign Missions.

Rue du Bac, Paris.

Sir,

The Crucifix, which you acknowledge so warmly, was sent to you as a token rather of my friendship than of my indebtedness.

You can guess how grieved I was that the Ambassadors should have missed you in Paris. Knowing your eagerness to serve the King, my master, I am sure you would have been most serviceable to them.

However, we cannot but congratulate ourselves upon the eager attentions shown to them by the members of the Paris Seminary whenever it was in their power to contribute in any way to the satisfaction of the Ambassadors.

As for myself, I feel bound to express my recognition of the many favours you have shown me, and to assure you that I am most fervently,

Sir,

Your most humble and obliged servant,

At the Bar of Siam. 1st Jany. 1688.

C. PHAULKON.

## BISHOP LANEAU'S LETTER TO POPE INNOCENT XI.

DATED 21/12/1687.

(PROP. FID. SCR. REF. VOL. IV. 268)

Siam. 21. Dec. 1687.

Beatissime Pater,

Res Christiana in his Missionibus iisdem quibus prioribus annis Deo miserante ampliatur progressibus. atque ex recente Ministrorum Evangelii qui majoris ex parte Sanctae Sedi paruerunt obsequio, necnon et ex nova indegenarum (qui litteras jam edocti sunt) ad sacra promotione spes non levis affulget fore ut solidiora in posterum Catholica Fides habitura sit incrementa.

Unus ego inter tot gaudium spiritualium argumenta animi poenitudine confiteor, quod indiscreta verborum, quae in decreto de

juramento edendo legantur, intelligentia in id incautus prolapsus sim, et Sanctitati Vestrae molestiam peperisse. atque-quod omnium gravissimum est-in suspicionem non sinceri obsequii erga S. Sedem devenisse meruerim: quamvis autem in presentium mandatis S. V. ac S. C. executionem ad litteram jam dederim. tantis tamen premor angustiis, ut infirmitatis propriae conscientia deterritus, non intelligam quamam potissimum ratione possim vel S. V. offensionem (quod absit) vel rei Christianae detrimentum vitare in posterum, maxime cum jam non supersit interpretationis locus.

Saepe etiam contigit in hisce remotissimis infidelium terris, ut dum S. V. per plures annos expectantur oraacula, graviter intermedio tempore periclitetur religio, nisi illum agendum suscipiamus quod Sanctitatem Vestram, si praesens adesset decreturam esse, attentis rerum ac temporum circumstantiis, conjicere valeamus.

Nihilominus tamen novi, Beatissime Pater, me saepius trepidare timore ubi non est timor; atque variis in casibus, ubi alii in rebus agendis perspicaciores, vel in divinis magis exercitati possent inoffenso pede tuto progredi, haerere me ancepitum ingenue fateor.

His quippe in locis, ubi proprio licet vivere arbitrio, si quis jugum regulae subire abnuerit, vix coerci potest absque perturbatione et pusillorum scandalo; quo fit ut neophiti a Fide jam suscepta et infideles a suscipienda-sicuti non raro videmus-misere deterreantur.

Hinc est quod, ubi agitur de religionis damno, vel de S. Sedis obsequio, vel saltem agi existimo perplexo animo, nihil occurrit quo tuto me convertam.

Unum superest, Beatissime Pater, ut S. V. supplex obtestor, velit tandem gratiam mihi concedere, quam toties exoravi, atque omni me onere cui ferendo prorsus non suppetunt vires eximere. Qua sub aliorum obedientia erratorum quae in amplissima administratione tam saepe admisi maculas deffere, atque in levioribus Missionum exercitiis quod superest vitae minori cum salutis aeternae discrimine impendere valeam.

Quod et mihi a S. V. benigne concessum iri confidens, spe liberationis proximae laetus conquiesco..... etc. etc.

Ludovicus, Episcopus Metellopolitanus. Vic. Apl. Siam.

## BISHOP LANEAU'S LETTER TO POPE INNOCENT XI.

DATED 21ST DECEMBER 1687.

(PROP. FID. SER. REF. IV. 268.)

Siam, 21st December, 1687.

Most Blessed Father,

The Christian cause in this Mission has, by God's mercy, made the same progress as in former years.

Most of the Ministers of the Gospel have submitted to the Holy See and rendered homage: this, together with the recent ordination of native graduates, inspires us with genuine hopes for a richer harvest for the Catholic Faith later on.

Alone, amidst so many reasons for spiritual satisfaction, I acknowledge with deep contrition my careless slip in mis-interpreting the words contained in the Decree concerning administration of "The Oath", thereby causing annoyance to Your Holiness, and worst of all arousing suspicions of my loyalty to the Holy See.

Thus, although I have carried out implicitly the latest orders of Your Holiness and of the Curia, I feel myself to be in dire straits—the knowledge of my own weakness frightens me, and I do not see how by any means in future I can avoid either offending Your Holiness—which God forbid—or injuring the Cause of the Church, especially now that there can be no loop-hole left for doubt concerning the interpretation [of the Oath].

It often happens in these far distant heathen lands that, while several years must elapse pending a ruling from Your Holiness, the religious welfare would meanwhile be endangered, were we not to take upon ourselves to do that which we feel Your Holiness, if present, Yourself would have decreed after considering the local conditions.

None the less, Blessed Father, I have more often felt that I "feared where no fear was," and in sundry matters I frankly confess to have hesitated like a child before taking action: whereas clearer sighted men of affairs, or more experienced in church matters, would have proceeded without halting.

Moreover, in these parts, where a man may live by his own free judgement, if he refuses to submit to the rule, he can hardly be coerced without distressing and shocking the weaker brethren.

Thus, we often see novices turned away from the Faith already gained, and not infrequently unbelievers prevented from accepting the Faith. For this reason, when it is a question between the welfare of the cause and the duty owed to the Holy See, or when I imagine it to be, I find no road of safety to which I may turn.

It only remains for me to beg, Blessed Father, that Your Holiness grant me the grace I have so often implored, and relieve me of that load for which my strength no longer suffices.

Serving under others may I be permitted to atone for those blemishes and mistakes which I have so often admitted in the full exercise of my duties, and with less risk to my ultimate salvation devote hereafter what remains to me of life on earth to humbler evangelistic duties.

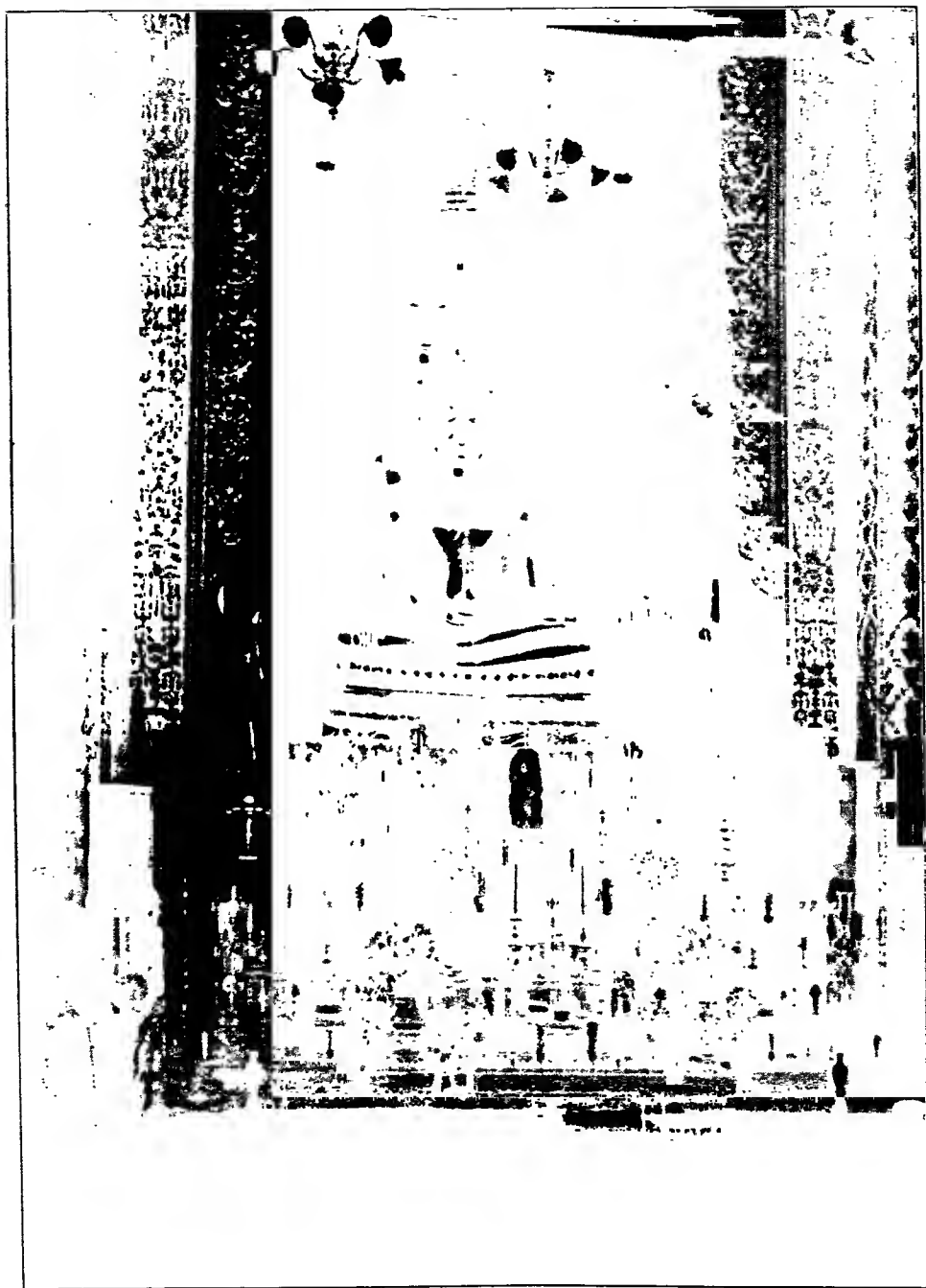
Trusting that this grace may be accorded to me by Your Holiness, I rest assured in my hope of a speedy release..... etc., etc ...

LOUIS, Bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Siam.









Vat Pavaranivega  
*Interior of the Stupa.*



consists of two separate buildings, simply and rather unskillfully placed one against the other. The original *sīmā* were found only around that one which forms the vertical bar of the T. Consequently this one originally constituted the Bôt and the transversal one a Vihāra. But the interiors of the two buildings communicate with each other. The walls of the Bôt are prolonged by partitions extending the whole width of the Vihāra so that the latter is reduced to two small chapels occupying the extremities only of the transversal building. The fourth arm of the cross, which has to-day disappeared, must then have been added afterwards, for the purpose of sheltering the great statue of Buddha Jinasīha, and have constituted a third chapel, a little wider than the two others.

The Bôt at that time contained only one statue, that which is now placed behind Buddha Jinasīha. This bronze statue, nearly five metres high, belonged to Wat Sa : tāphan, at Phētxābūri, whence it was brought to Bangkok about 1825. Its parts were disconnected to facilitate the removal and when they were placed together again, some were touched up to accommodate the statue with the taste of the time. So the head, which was covered with thick locks of hair after the style of the Sūkhôthāi period, was polished and coiffed with a wig made of baked earth and having short rounded locks like the statues of the Ayuthia and Bangkok periods. At the sides of the Buddha, two statues of disciples in masonry were erected according to custom.

In each of the two side-chapels, placed against the partition which separates them from the nave of the Bôt, is a standing statue of the Buddha, three metres high, in the attitude called "calming the ocean", flanked by the two usual statues of disciples.

The Preaching Hall contains a walking Buddha in the Sūkhôthāi style and two other smaller statues, all three standing on the same socle. Their place of origin is unknown. The walking Buddha, which is a fine specimen, has possibly been brought from the North of Siam by Prince Mongkut.

The image which made, and still is, the principal ornament of the monastery is the celebrated Buddha Jinasīha<sup>1</sup>, a bronze statue

1. The Siamese also write Jina Cīri.

four metres high which represents the Buddha seated in the attitude called "the victory over Māra". It was originally in Wat Çrī Ratana Mahādhātu at Phitsanūlōk with another statue no less venerated, the Jinarāja, still in its place, and the Phra: Çāstā, which will be mentioned later on. According to the Annals of the North, the Jinasīha, like the two other statues above-mentioned, was cast by order of Çrī Dharmatrapitaka, King of Xieng Sēn, at the time of the foundation of Phitsanūlōk in 956. It is plain from its features that this statue is foreign to the proper school of Xieng Sēn. It has obviously the characteristics of the Sūkhōthāi art of the late period and cannot be older than the second half of the XIVth. century<sup>1</sup>. After the annexation of Phitsanūlōk to the kingdom of Ayuthia, the Jinasīha and the Jinarāja were both held in great veneration by the Siamese kings and the Annals have preserved a record of the honours which were rendered to them by the sovereigns of Ayuthia from the last quarter of the XIVth. century down to the end of the old Siamese capital. Phitsanūlōk had to suffer much in consequence of the Burmese invasion and of the civil war which followed the downfall of the Ayuthia dynasty. Phāja Tak found there the point of resistance most difficult to overcome. When he succeeded in entering the town, he did not fail to pay his devotions to the two celebrated statues. His commander-in-chief, the future Phra: Phūtthā Jot Fa, did the same every time he had the opportunity in the course of his campaigns. The Wat Çrī Ratana Mahādhātu had fallen into ruins. Afterwards, the Vihāra only where the Jinarāja was, was restored. In 1829, Prince Çakti decided to remove to Bangkok the statue of Jinasīha which had been left unsheltered. The raft which carried it, towed by hundreds of gilded and gaily-decorated barges stopped at the landing of the Second King's Palace where after three days of rejoicing, the statue was carried by land to the Vihāra which had just been provided for it in prolongation of the Bôt of Wat Pavara-

1. H. R. H. Prince Dāmtong identifies King Çrī Dharmatrapitaka of the Annals of the North with Mahadhammarāja Libāi, grandson of Rama Kkāmheng, who ascended the throne of Sukhothāi in 1347 (เจ้าธรรมราชาธิราชแห่งสุโขทัย, p. 72-73).

niveṇa. The Buddha Jinasiha is flanked by statues in bronze of standing disciples, which are said to have been brought with it from Phitsanulok, but which appear to have been cast later.

On the arrival of Prince Mongkut, Wat Pavaraniveṇa, which had yet no history, and parts of which were still unfinished, was almost uninhabited, its community numbering only five bonzes. The activity of the new Abbot was soon to make of it, and this for nearly a century, the busiest centre of the Siamese Church.

On the 11th, January 1837, Prince Mongkut, seated in a princely barge under a canopy hung with red cloth, escorted by a number of boats in pairs carrying his retinue, was conveyed to his monastery, in the precincts of which the King had just built for him a two-storied building in the so-called European style<sup>1</sup>. It is said that the Prince, prior to his installation, had been invited by the King to go to the Palace of the Second King, uninhabited since the death of Prince Çakti, and to select there all the things he might desire to furnish or decorate his new residence. This may explain the presence in the monastery of some jars like those found inside the Palace, as well as the unusual costliness of the decoration of some of the manuscripts preserved in the library. Possibly the King by such means intimated that he looked upon his brother as the Second King, and so sought to cover the irregularity of his accession to the throne. In fact, he did not appoint a successor to Prince Çakti during the fourteen years that his reign was still to last. On the other hand it seems that it was only after the appointment of Prince Mongkut that the monastery, which up to that time was simply called the "New Wat" received the name of Pavaraniveṇa, an expression very similar to that by which the Palace of the Second Kings was designated<sup>2</sup>. Thus everything contributed to represent

1. This building, called Phra paṇḍa, was removed from the gardens of the Palace. It still exists to-day.

2. It is known that the official name of the Second King's Palace is *paravasthāna*, "Excellent residence". Correspondingly, the epithet *parava*, synonymous of *parava*, applies exclusively to things pertaining to the First King.

Prince Mongkut as the Second King of Siam who had voluntarily retired from public life.

The new Abbot certainly did not fail to appreciate all the value of the favours shown to him and to realise their secret purpose. He was then thirty-two years old. Many horizons opened before him. But he was decidedly shut away from the temptations of the world. One idea possessed him entirely since the crisis he had gone through at Wat Mahādhātu: the restoration of a sincere and true community of the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> During the seven years that he had since spent in Wat Sāmorai, he had little by little ascertained and defined the outlines of the reform which he judged necessary, and he had endeavoured with a small number of disciples to live as true sons of the great Muni. He saw in the favourable position to which he was raised solely a means of giving a lasting form to the attempt which he had undertaken. Being head of a monastery, he could with perfect independence lay the foundations of the New Church.

The essential of the reform initiated by Prince Mongkut is summed up in the happy formula by which he referred to his group: *dharmamayuttikā*, 'Those adhering to the Law'. This implied the renouncing of all the practices which had no other authority than traditional use, and the accepting of such regulations only as were to be found in the canon. For this discrimination the Prince at first adopted the practices of the Mon Sect from which he had received his first insight on the road to be followed, and which he considered to be better versed than the Siamese Sect in disciplinary matters. Before he came to Wat Pavaraniveça, the monks who had become his disciples, were obliged to be re-ordained according to the ritual of the Mon Sect. He was not slow to free himself from the imitation into which his first enthusiasm had led him, but his mind always remained beset by questions to which the Mon Sect attached a great importance, particularly the wearing of the ecclesiastical garments and the planting of the *sīmā* or boundaries. It is known that in Burma the manner of adjusting the upper robe gave rise to a

1. For the first part of King Mongkut's religious life, see my former monograph, *History of Wat Mahādhātu*, published in this Journal, Vol. XXIV, pt 1, p. 16-22.



controversy which was prolonged for nearly a century, dividing the Burmese clergy in two hostile camps. To Prince Mongkut also the matter was of moment, and after due consideration he adopted the wrapping of the Mon bonzes who, in contrast to the Siamese bonzes, leave loose the upper garment so as to facilitate the movements of the arms. The manner of holding the alms-bowl was also modified: whereas the other Siamese Bhikkhus hold the bowl with the left hand only, the Dhammayanttikā Bhikkhus hold it with both hands in front of them. These changes, which outwardly evinced the appearance of a new sect, distressed the King greatly, and for a long time were serious impediments to the propagation of the reforming ideas. But the Prince persisted in maintaining them and only gave up his irreconcilable attitude, as will be seen later on, at the request of the dying king. Prince Mongkut perhaps attached still greater importance to the question of the *sīmā* and generally to the rites of Ordination. He held, with the Mon bonzes, that Ordination is not valid unless conferred in properly consecrated *sīmā*. The attention he paid to this matter had already led him, at Wat Sānurai, to make use of a special Bôt, borne on a raft. It also led him to re-erect twice the *sīmā* of Wat Pavaraniveça. The first time, probably shortly after his arrival, he had new *sīmā* consecrated round the place occupied by the Bôt and the transversal Vihāra, so as to avoid uncertainty as to the defining of the area available for the rites. Consequently, the whole building originally built in the form of a T became a Bôt. The second time, in 1847, after the demolition of the Vihāra containing the Jinasiha, the limits of the consecrated area were extended beyond the surface built upon so as to correspond with the natural limits of this part of the monastery.

The regard which he paid to the regulations laid down in the Sacred Books, actuated the Prince to alter many of the practices observed by the Siamese communities. The formula and the ritual of the Ordination were corrected<sup>1</sup>. The manner of pronouncing

1. For example, the words Nāga and Tissa, which figure in the formula, were replaced by the religious names of the candidate and of his *upajjhāta*.

the Pāli was amended<sup>1</sup>. Even the fixing of the *uposatha* day was revised<sup>2</sup>. Special rules were instituted for the reception of ecclesiastical garments at the *kathina* ceremony.<sup>3</sup> These reforms, the details of which cannot be entered into here, are to day regarded only as trivial discrepancies, left to the discretion of each sect. It is most probable that Prince Mongkut did not think so, and that in his eyes all these amendments were necessary for the validity of the acts of the community. But as a matter of fact, the essential was really the spirit which animated the reform, rather than its external results. This conscientious research into the rules of the Order, this endeavour to reform strictly thereafter, evinced a zeal altogether new among the bonzes, until then maintained by the veneration of the people in a pious content with themselves and the monastic routine. Even then the attempt of Prince Mongkut would not have resulted in the creation of a new sect, it would have aroused however, among the best representatives of the Sangha, an emulation most useful, and even necessary, to the old Siamese Church. All educated Buddhists, and the pious King Phra : Nāṅ Klāo most of all, were at one in deploring the relaxation of the monastic discipline, an evil to whose gravity scandals still present to memory attested. There were henceforth in the Church a group of Bhikkhus, careful of their duties to the point of scrupulousness, towards whom the sympathies of all the faithful aware of

1. In order to bring out the difference between aspirated and unaspirated stops

2. In the Dhammayuttikā monasteries, the ၁၅ ရက် (*uposatha* days) are fixed according to the real phasis of the moon, while the unreformed communities follow the calendar data.

3. The Bhikkhus of the old sect will accept robes already made up. The Dhammayuttikā Bhikkhus hold that the *kathina* gift must consist only of pieces of cloth which must be dyed and made up into robes before dawn. In consequence, the robes offered by the King for the *kathina* celebration had to be unsewn and remade the same day, and the prayers were recited a second time. When Prince Mongkut succeeded to the throne, he bestowed upon the Dhammayuttikā communities, in addition to the customary *kathina* gifts, white pieces of clothes to represent the real *kathina* garment. This custom still obtains to-day

the vices from which the Order was suffering must go out, and who consequently must either join to themselves little by little the best part of the remaining clergy, or provoke a salutary self-examination of the Order itself.

Nevertheless, Prince Mongkut did not exact from his disciples a blind obedience to the teachings of the Buddha. Even more perhaps than evasions, he hated mechanical performances which transform devotion into a nonsensical ritual. He expected the Bhikkhu to understand the prayers and Pāli formulæ that he was to recite, the reason for the rules to which he was subjected, and the meaning of the acts that were demanded of him. Thorough knowledge of the canonical books, which had been the starting point of, and the justification for the reform, should be the first care of him who puts on the Yellow Robe. It has already been recorded that Prince Mongkut, during his second sojourn at Wat Mahādhātu, had been entrusted by the King with the organisation of the ecclesiastical examinations: he kept on with these duties after he was made Abbot, and under his direction the general standard of religious education was raised considerably. The Prince and his first disciples, all Pāli scholars of repute, devoted themselves to the teaching of the sacred language, and formed an increasing number of candidates for the doctorate. The Wat Pavaraniveṇa became a Pāli school which remained for a long time unrivalled. Besides the Bhikkhus belonging to this monastery, for whom the study of Pāli was compulsory, numbers of bonzes from outside were admitted to follow the courses. For the purpose of assuring a better transcription of Pāli words, the Prince substituted for the Cambodian characters, which had been in use up to that time, a script of his own invention called *ariyaka* composed after the Roman characters. This script, which originally seems to have been a kind of secret script between the Prince and his disciples, became of current use at Wat Pavaraniveṇa, but in fact it only replaced one complication by another, and was given up almost immediately after the departure of the Prince. Another undertaking by the Prince was to be much more beneficial. At that time, printing had not spread much in Siam. The only two presses which used Siamese characters, belonged to the American

missions, and scarcely anything else was issued except propaganda tracts. Pāli works only existed in manuscripts, usually on palm leaves, and good copies were rare and dear. The Prince caused *ariyaka* characters to be cast, and a printing press to be installed in his monastery. This press, the first founded by a Siamese, published the Pātimokkha or Formulary of the Bhikkhus, some selections of prayers, and some teaching books, which rapidly spread in the Dhammayuttikā communities and greatly facilitated study. After the giving up of the *ariyaka*, Siamese characters were used for the printing of Pāli texts, and the Cambodian characters began to fall into disuse.

The Siamese collections of the Tipitaka were at that time, not only very defective but also incomplete. The text established by the famous "Ninth Council" of 1788 was very far from being perfect for the manuscripts which were at the disposal of the compilers were of very unequal value. For a long time all relations had ceased with the Cingalese Church, and the embassy sent to the mother island in 1815, had confined itself to exchanging tokens of sympathy without drawing any real profit from its long and toilsome pilgrimage. The new school, in its endeavor to search out the pure Pāli tradition, must naturally attach a great value to the establishment of more efficient relations with the Cingalese Sangha. The opportunity was not slow in presenting itself. In the course of the year 1840 five Cingalese Bhikkhus arrived in Bangkok to pay homage to the principal Siamese sanctuaries. The King assigned to them as residence the Wat Pavaranivega, as being the monastery where the best Pāli scholars were to be found. Prince Mongkut could then inquire about the traditions of the Cingalese Church. He certainly found these exchanges of views very profitable for it is said that he expressed to the King the desire to accompany the pilgrims on their return journey. The King did not accede to this desire but he consented to send to Ceylon a religious embassy, the entire organisation of which was entrusted to the Prince. This embassy, the second since the fall of Ayuthia, was composed of five Bhikkhus all chosen by the Prince from among his disciples. The mission was to enquire about the conditions of Buddhism in Ceylon and to bring back all

available materials for the revision and the completion of the Siamese collections. The mission left in 1840 on board a merchant vessel belonging to the King, spent one year in Ceylon, and returned in 1843 with forty volumes of the Tipiṭaka, borrowed from Cingalese libraries. The following year, a new embassy comprising six Bhikkhus and one novice, all of the Dhammaynttikā Sect, went to return the borrowed texts and came back the same year with thirty other volumes. This access to the Cingalese sources combined with the study of the Mon manuscripts which were already available in Siam, or that were sought for in Burma, encouraged an unprecedented textual work which lasted till the end of the reign of Phra: Nāng Klāo, as is proved by the number of official recensions of the Tipiṭaka which were then undertaken successively<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the renewed relations with the Mother Church became much closer than in the past. The Embassy of 1844 had brought back with it about forty Cingalese Bhikkhus and laity. A special part of the *kaṭṭi* of Wat Pavaraniveṇa was allotted to Cingalese guests. By the intermediary of these embassies, or through the pilgrims lodged in his monastery, Prince Mongkut was able to exchange with the highest members of the Cingalese clergy a copious correspondence on all points of the doctrine and discipline which he had taken to heart. The Cingalese tradition succeeded in detaching him from the Mon tradition or rather the one and the other contributed in detaching him from the national tradition, and in helping him to revert to the pure tradition establish-

1. There were no less than seven different editions of the Tipiṭaka during Phra: Nāng Klāo's reign. Some were not finished till the next reign. The finest of these editions, and probably of all that had ever been written since the foundation of Bangkok, is the one which is known under the name of 眞鍮漆版 第一集, "First Gilt and Black Lacquer edition", so called because the little board which serves as a cover for each bundle is decked with gilt designs on a black background. King Phra: Nāng Klāo also wanted a Siamese translation to be made of the whole of the Tipiṭaka, and to that effect he prescribed successively different parts of the Scriptures as subject for sermons to the Bhikkhus each in their turn to preach in the Palace. See G. Cœdès, *The Faḍirāṇā National Library*, Bangkok 1924, p. 23-24, and for fuller information, H. R. H. Prince Dāmrong, วังมฤค ๒๒๖, ๒๒๗, Bangkok 2459 (1916), p. 8-11.

ed by the Buddha.

If the new school so much appraised the knowledge of the sacred texts, it is not only because they saw therein a primary duty for those who enjoyed the benefits of the veneration and privileges attached to the wearing of the Yellow Robe, but also because this knowledge happened to respond to new intellectual wants in Siamese society. Prince Mongkut joined to a culture then unusual in a "professional" Bhikkhu a rationalistic turn of mind still more unusual in a Siamese of his time and which was to rouse in him a veritable passion for exact sciences such as Astronomy. It was inevitable that Buddhism, such as was practised in his country should disappoint him. Sunk to the level of the intelligences which it was its task to elevate, deprived of its doctrinal contents, dragging with it superstitions most foreign to its spirit, resting only upon supernaturalness and myth, Buddhism had become in the hands of ignorant Bhikkhus a matter of belief or of race rather than of conviction. For the popular idea of Buddhism, the Prince substituted a learned version which preserved of the national religion only practices sanctioned by the texts of the Order, and the authoritativeness of which was entirely based on the intrinsic value of the doctrine taught by the texts. He tended towards a Buddhism hostile to fancy, and rather unattractive for the multitude, but thereby he purified the national religion of the gross beliefs of which an educated Buddhist would be ashamed. Thus the reform answered to a desire for modernisation which was beginning to awaken in a section of Siamese society. The Prince insisted on the learning of the texts, because he found in them the logical explanation demanded by the coming new age. In the progress of this intellectualism a part must fairly be ascribed to European influence. Prince Mongkut was one of the first Siamese open to Western ideas. During his second sojourn at Wat Samorai, he had entered into relations with the great French Bishop, Mgr Pallegoix, whose parish was next to his monastery. He taught him Pāli and received Latin lessons in exchange. At Wat Pavaraniveça he made acquaintance with the American missionaries, recently arrived in Bangkok, and more intimately with the Rev. Jesse Caswell, Rev. D. B. Bradley and Dr. S. Reynolds House. In 1845 he

took up the study of English and succeeded in speaking it fluently. His relations with the representatives of Western civilisation did not alter his faith in Buddhism, but they no doubt helped him to realise how absurd Buddhism, as practised in Siam, appeared to scientific minds, and urged him to emphasize the rationalistic character of the reform which he had undertaken. He did not confine himself to condemn mere superstitions, or to scoff at the buffooneries which sometimes were associated with religious ceremonies. He did not hesitate also to reject from the canon as "apocryphal", legendary stories like the *Jātakas*, though so popular in Siam, or to see in them but pious fables framed for the edification of children or of the multitude. He explained the supernatural powers attributed to the Buddha by the development of faculties natural to all men. The miraculous events in the life of the Buddha or of the Saints were in the same way accepted as parables, or reduced to human measures. This evliemerism, so characteristic of the tendencies of the new school, has become the official doctrine of modern Siamese Buddhism. If the popular beliefs have scarcely been shaken thereby, the national religion has been strengthened in those circles where the awakening of scientific thought paved the way to a dangerous incredulonsness. Prince Mongkut has himself passed as a mere skeptic, so ready was he to sacrifice anything that was not tested by experience. Thus the reform has in the religious field prepared minds for the transformation which the influence, vainly delayed, of European civilisation, was soon to bring about in Siamese society.

The deep conviction of the Prince in the necessity of the reform and his unwearied activity succeeded in giving to this improving form of Buddhism a vitality which had long since forsaken the old Siamese communities. He composed in Pāli many hymns for daily worship at morning and evening, and formulae for the devotions of the laity, hymns and formulae which are in general use to-day. He organised a special service for the annual celebration of the *Viçākhā pūjā*, the anniversary of the Birth, Enlightenment and Death of the Buddha. He caused the Ceremony of *Māgha pūjā* to be observed for the first time in Siam and laid

down the rules as to how it was to be celebrated in the middle of the Third Month (February). Preaching was then little more than a solemn paraphrase of a Pāli quotation and was carried out as a rite. He strove with special attention to make it really beneficial. Besides feast days or particular occasions, there were at Wat Pavaranivega preachings in the morning and afternoon of each *uposatha* day, that is four times a month. The Prince very often went up into the pulpit himself. In contrast with the preachers of his time, he sought rather to convince than to impose. He used a simple language accessible to all his hearers. He did not read his sermons; he improvised them by starting from some Pāli sentences chosen beforehand; he prescribed the same method to his disciples, some of whom became able preachers. The oratorical talent of the Prince attracted to his sermons a congregation so large that the Bôt of the monastery was insufficient to hold it, and that many had to keep outside. Of this eloquence nothing survives except two or three more elaborate sermons specially written beforehand and a few notes taken down by certain of his hearers.

This regeneration of the national religion was impressed with a feeling of toleration altogether remarkable. A reform founded upon reason was naturally bound to condemn fanaticism. But this does not adequately describe it. For the traditional toleration of the Siamese people, which on final analysis was due to ignorance in regard to religious problems, the new School substituted a deliberate ideal of toleration founded on the consciousness that they had raised Siamese Buddhism to the level of the great universal religions. Prince Mongkut always professed the greatest regard for Mgr Pallegoix who had put him in contact with the ideas of the West. He established friendly relations with the American missionaries who came to see him at Wat Pavaranivega. He did not conceal from them his objections to Christianity, but, confident in the future of Buddhism, he did not hesitate to afford them at the same time all facilities desirable for their evangelisation work. He often invited them to cremations, allowing them to avail of such occasions to distribute their pamphlets. He even granted to Rev. Jesse



Caswell, in exchange for English tuition, the use of one of the halls of the monastery for preaching in and he permitted the Bhikkhus to attend the sermons of the Pastor. Rev. Jesse Caswell enjoyed this extraordinary favour until his death, which occurred in 1848. When one remembers that at that time the Siamese government was still stubbornly adhering to a policy of isolation, dominated by suspicion, if not hatred, of the foreigner, that the American and English envoys who had come to give some efficacy to the treaties signed at the beginning of the reign, had met hardly courteous refusals, that the year 1849 was to see the expulsion of eight Catholic missionaries, guilty of having declined to participate in meritory acts prescribed by the King after a cholera epidemic, that the following year the American missionaries, discouraged by the increasing vexations which they encountered, were preparing to leave a country decidedly hostile to their work, one will realise the tranquil courage of which Prince Mongkut gave proof, as well as the radical change that was involved in the spirit in which the reformation was fostered.

On being appointed head of Wat Pavaraniveça, Prince Mongkut had definitely broken all connection with Wat Mahādhātu, and called around him the disciples he had made in this monastery, among these was Prince Pavāret who was destined to be his immediate successor at the head of the new school. He left a group of disciples at Wat Sāmorai. Besides, he had constructed in a pretty field, situated on the bank of the Mahānāga canal, at a little distance from Wat Pavaraniveça, a monastery, later called Wat Paramanivāsa, which he used as a place of retreat, and where some of his disciples resided<sup>1</sup>. These two monasteries formed the first branches of the

1. This monastery was not completed until after the coronation of Prince Mongkut. Built at first for a small community, many additions were made, especially during the last twenty years, and at the present time the number of bonzes living in it varies between one and two hundred. The Bôt contains a bronze statue called *Dasabalañña*, about two metres high, which represents the Buddha in the attitude called "the victory over Māra". It is of Sūkhōthāi art and comes from Phitsanulok.

new religious centre. Subsequently some laymen, won over to the reforming ideas, asked the Abbot of Wat Pavaranivega to appoint from his disciples the staff of the monasteries which they were founding or restoring. In this way three new succursals were established on the right bank of the Menam: the Wats Vijayañāti, Pupphārāma and Khruavān, all three founded by important officials<sup>1</sup>. For, in spite of the official apprehensions of a schism in the Siamese Church, the reform movement was spreading with a marked success. The pretension of Wat Pavaranivega to genuineness of practice, and the neophyte zeal which enlivened this school of exegesis won many sympathies among pious people and at each *cassa* more and more ordinations were conferred. The monastery, empty at the time of the Prince's arrival, numbered, during the last years of his rule, from 130 to 150 inmates. Among the few princes who sojourned in it at this period were the two sons whom the Prince had before his ordination.

During his long career as abbot, Prince Mongkut undertook important improvements in the monastery which then became his own work. At the beginning of 1838, he had the statue of Buddha Jinasiha, for which he had a deep veneration, moved into the interior of the Bôt, in front of the big statue that was already there. The opportunity was taken to regild it, to set new eyes of mother-of-pearl and to add the *umadoma* sign between the eyebrows. The two statues are placed in a sort of alcove formed by a wooden frame, sculptured and gilded which is appended against the two last

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1. Wat Vijayañāti was founded in 1841 by Phāja Cīri Vivadhana, later Sōmdet Chāo Phāja Paramamahavijayañāti who was to be made Prime Minister by King Mongkut.—Wat Pupphārāma was founded by Chāmun Vayavarnātho ( ชำมุน เวทยานธรณ์ ) and Chāmun Rājamatya ( ชำมุน ราชมาตยา ), sons of the future Sōmdet Chao Phāja Paramamahāpravāṇavongsa, the Sōmdet Phra Ong Jai of the Fourth Reign: the former was to become Regent at the beginning of King Chulalongkorn's reign after having succeeded his father as Prime Minister of King Mongkut. The latter was made Chāo Phāja Divakaravongsa during the Fourth Reign.—Wat Khruavān was founded by Chao Phāja Abhayabhūddhara ( เจ้าพระยาอภัยภูธร ).

pillars, and in the upper part of which is figured a crown, an emblem intended to recall the royal birth of the Abbot. They are separated by a brocade curtain whose ends are usually raised, only allowing a little light to shine upon the gold of the second. In the Vihāra chapel at the back of the Bôt, the Jinasība was replaced by the Phra Seyyā, a reclining Buddha in stone three and a half metres long, which comes from Wat Phra Phai Luang at Sākhōthāi, where the Prince had probably discovered it in the course of his travels in 1833. The statue did not remain in this place for long. The Vihāra which sheltered it was demolished some years later to permit the construction of the lower platform of the Chedi. The Bôt, with its two remaining Vihāras, then received its final form. The mural paintings, which decorate the interior are highly significant of the tendencies of the new school. Instead of the usual pictures of the legendary lives of the Buddha or of the Buddhist cosmology, one sees in the upper part scenes copied from English contemporary engravings: a Protestant Church, a race-course, a paddle-steamer etc. Short inscriptions present these pictures as edifying allegories. Between the windows are depicted scenes of Siamese life relative to the various yearly religious festivals. A double row of square pillars forms the limits of a central nave: the pictures which cover these pillars illustrate the six *abhiyāti*, or different stages of Mankind on its progress towards Salvation: each pillar in both rows is painted with a different colour: black at the entrance of the Bôt, white near the altar; and at the bottom are represented human beings of a corresponding stage, savages on the black pillars and enlightened Buddhas on the white pillars.

Behind the Bôt, the Prince constructed a Chedi as was intended by the founder of the monastery, but instead of the polygonal type, then the only one to be found in Bangkok, he reverted to the ancient type, that is, to the round Stūpa of the Cingalese style such as was built at the Sākhōthai period, and which he was always to adopt in the future, with one exception only<sup>1</sup>. The Chedi of Wat Pavaranivega is said to be the reproduction of that which crowns the hill of

1. The fourth Stūpa of Wat Pho, which is of the polygonal type.

Phānôm Phlông at Sisāxānalāi. It rests on a square basement in two tiers intended for circumambulation. The base of the Chedi itself is 50 metres in circuit: its total height, including the ringed arrow which terminates it, is about 44 metres from the higher platform. The first platform is a little less than two metres from the ground, the approaches to it are by four sets of steps, two on the East side, and two on the West; at each angle of this platform is a Sala in the shape of an L surmounted by a square turret in Chinese style; on the South is a small chapel housing a linga; and on the East, in a niche, made into the staircase which leads to the upper platform, is a little stone statue of a Brahmanical divinity. The upper platform, nearly three metres above the first, is decorated at its four corners by a statue of a standing Buddha lodged in a kind of watch-tower surmounted by a Prang; on the North side is a small chapel in Chinese style, the interior of which is decorated with bas-reliefs representing the Cremation of the Buddha and the Distribution of the Relics; it contains a stone statue of the Dvāravatī style about 50 centimetres high, called Vairīvinūṇa, which represents the Buddha seated in the attitude known as *cajrasāna*, holding out his right hand with the palm open. At the base of the Chedi are four doors with pediments. The interior consists of a circular passage surrounding an inner room pierced with four apertures; in the centre rises a gilded Chedi borne upon a marble socle, and bearing Pāli sentences in Cingalese characters, at the sides are two smaller Chedis of which one in marble contains a tablet on which Buddhist precepts are enshrined. Small niches made in the wall contain statuettes, and small trees of gold and silver brought as offerings.

The Prince caused also many Salas to be erected in the vicinity of the Bôt and along the wall that he had built around the monastery; some of them have since been pulled down. He began building a house with one story to serve as his personal residence; but the building was still unfinished when he left the Wat, and in fact he lived on the first story of a brick house constructed at the same time, the ground floor of which was used as a printing room.<sup>1</sup>

1. The site is now occupied by the "Diamond" building.

In September 1850, the health of King Phra : Nāṅg Klāo altered. He was still able to go out for the annual distribution of robes to the Bhikkhus of the royal monasteries. But from February 1851 his condition grew worse, and he soon realised that he would not recover. He multiplied almsgivings and acts of merit. The alms he had sent to Wat Pavaraniveṇa were spent to construct, in front of, and behind the Library and the Preaching Hall, that is to say, at the angles of the base of the Chedi, four Salas whose walls have niches containing statuettes of Rishis or tablets engraved with medical prescriptions. The King expressed anxiety regarding the matter of the reform undertaken by his brother; a pious man to the point of devoutness, he was grieved in his capacity of protector of Buddhism to see his reign marked by a schism; above all he was indignant that Siamese Bhikkhus should consent to robe themselves in the Mon fashion, to be confounded with a foreign community. Prince Mongkut, being apprized of the sentiments of the King, hastened to order his disciples to return to the Siamese fashion of wearing the Yellow Robe. This conciliatory step may be satisfactorily explained by the desire to soothe the mental anguish of a dying man. But it is also possible that, in relaxing from his hitherto unyielding attitude for the sake of national prejudice, he may have intended as well to give a timely proof of his breadth of mind, and to facilitate the task of those who, in the councils of government, were already preparing his accession to the throne. Around the silent Palace, diverging ambitions were already beginning to contend. Towards the middle of February, the King had asked his Council, composed of princes and the three great ministers, to elect his successor, in the hope that their choice would fall upon one of his sons, for whom he had shown his preference some months before. But two other of his sons were also aspiring to the Nine-tiered Umbrella. The Council, divided by this rivalry of princes, refused to make a decision, alleging that the condition of the King did not justify so alarming a step. The sovereign, thus aware of his powerlessness, thenceforth ceased from being concerned in the future of the throne, and, preparing himself

for death, remained shut up in his Palace. The three rivals, left to themselves, began to agitate and to count their partisans. It is then that the most influential of the leading ministers, the Phra : khlāng, intervened and proposed the candidature of Prince Mongkut. He had already secured the support of the army. By his firm course of action, he easily succeeded in triumphing over the princes' party, and from the middle of March, a guard of honour watched over the residence of the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṇa, thus ostensibly recognised as the heir to the Crown. On the 2nd April 1851, King Phra : Nāng Klāo passed away, aged sixty-three, after a reign of twenty-six and a half years. Prince Mongkut had as many years passed under the monastic rule. The rest of his life was to show that this strange preparation of a future ruler had not cramped his mind nor destroyed his will. His long monastic probation, on the contrary, had enabled him to acquire a much greater experience of the needs of the country, and to set free an individuality much more original than if he had remained in the Royal Palace. Thanks to him, Siam was quick to come out of her deadly isolation and to enter steadily into a way that was to make her a modern state.

In the morning of April 3rd., the Prince left the monastery that he had ruled over for more than fourteen years, and betook himself to the Palace where he bathed the Royal Corpse with scented water and attended to its bestowal in the urn. He then proceeded to the Chapel of the Emerald Buddha where the princes and high officials came, according to custom, to swear the oath of allegiance. After a night spent in the Chapel, he quitted the Yellow Robe and took up his residence in the Palace. He was forty-seven years old and his reign was to last seventeen years.

The new King chose, as his successor as head of Wat Pavaraniveṇa, Prince Rikṣa, better known under the title of Sōmdēt Krōm Phāja Pāvāret (Pavareṇvariyaṇkarāṇa) which was conferred upon him by King Chulalongkorn. He was born on September 14th, 1809, son of Prince Mahāsenāmorakṣa who was Second King of

Siam from 1809 to 1817. He wore the Yellow Robe from the age of fourteen, save for two short interruptions during his novitiate. He passed all the first part of his monastic life in Wat Mahādhātu, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sacred Books. He was quickly won over to the reformatory ideas of Prince Mongkut and was his confidant during the crisis which marked the last years of the Prince's second sojourn at Wat Mahādhātu<sup>1</sup>. After his nomination at Wat Pavaranivega, Prince Mongkut had him transferred to this monastery and made him one of his principal advisers for the organisation of the reform. Prince Pāvāret was then the natural continuator of the work undertaken by Prince Mongkut. His career as abbot extended through the whole of the reign of the new King and through more than half of the long reign of King Chulalongkorn, that is, from 1851 to 1892.

Once on the throne, Prince Mongkut took great heed not to favour his own disciples to the detriment of the deserving members of the non-reformed clergy, and refrained from interfering with the internal affairs of the communities. It will be seen that it was not he, but his successor, who officially conferred autonomy upon the Dhammayutikā Sect. When Prince Pāvāret asked his permission to return to the Mon fashion of dressing, he replied that such questions were outside the authority of the ruler, and should be left to the discretion of the communities concerned. However it was more than natural that his accession should not fail to strengthen the new school and to raise up a number of sudden sympathisers. The new Abbot was compelled even to take measures to hinder the invasion of the monastery by recruits of questionable sincerity. Most of the young princes who had reached the age of being ordained novices or Bhikkhus, chose the Wat Pavaranivega for their traditional stay, so

1. Prince Pavaret has written two biographies of King Mongkut, one in prose of which the Vajirānāya Library possesses a manuscript, the other in verse which was published in B. E. 2468 (1925) under the title โคลง เรื่อง พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว. Both contain interesting and somewhat naive details on the monastic career of the future King.



H. R. H. Prince Pavaret (1809–1892)





that this monastery soon became and remained down to the present time the favourite centre of religious education for the princely youth of Siam. All the sons of King Mongkut took the Yellow Robe at Wat Pavaraniveça, beginning with the future King Chulalongkorn who, in the lifetime of his father, remained there for six months as a novice in 1866. Mention may be made also during the reign of King Mongkut of the ordination in this monastery of two Cambodian princes, the future Kings Norodom and Sisowat.

Besides, Wat Pavaraniveça became, during the same reign and the beginning of the following reign, the place adopted for the cremation of princes when the deceased was not of a sufficiently high rank for the ceremony to take place on the Royal Piazza. A site was prepared for this purpose outside the precincts on the West.

The new Abbot saw the number of the monasteries placed under his authority rapidly increasing. The four new monasteries founded by King Mongkut, the Wats Somanassa (1853), Padumavana (1857), Rājapratīṣṭha (1864) and Makutaśātriya, all belonged to the new Sect. Their abbots and directing personnel were chosen from amongst the best of the Bhikkhus of Wat Pavaraniveça. These successive swarms ended by the weakening of the hive. Notably, the departure of the famous preacher Pussadeva for Wat Rājapratīṣṭha in 1865 caused an irreparable vacancy in the community of Wat Pavaraniveça. From lack of Bhikkhus trained in the practice of preaching, they were forced to return to the custom of sermons composed beforehand and read out before the faithful. At the beginning of the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the foundation and organisation of the Wat Rājapavitra (1870) and specially of the Wat Devaçirindra (1878) succeeded in depriving the Wat Pavaraniveça of its most active elements. Prince Pāvāret, old, infirm and lacking collaborators, could do nothing but witness the decline of a monastery which he had known so full of life. In 1880 he counted no more than thirty Bhikkhus around him. The actual management of the reform passed over to the Abbots of the Wats Devaçirindra and Somanassa.

In nominating Prince Pāvāret Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveça,

King Mongkut had raised him to one of the highest dignities of the clergy, with a rank equal to that of the heads of the three great groups who then shared the administration of all the monasteries of the Realm. Besides, he had united in a special group the Wat Pavaraniveça and the monasteries depending on it; but this group, which was not yet officially called Dhammayuttikanikāya, continued to form part of the great central group which comprised all the monasteries of the Capital, and whose chief was the Patriarch of the Kingdom, Prince Paramānujita. Abbot of Wat Phô. King Chulalongkorn promoted the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveça to the rank of Sômdét Krôm Phāja, which is the highest rank for a prince; at the same time he raised him to an ecclesiastical dignity equal to that of the Sangharāja. Finally, in 1891, the office of Sangharāja being vacant by the death of Prince Paramānujita, he made Prince Pāvāret Supreme Chief of the Siamese Church. Prince Pāvāret was then an old man of eighty-two, blind and feeble, who had long since lost all effective power. He died less than two years afterwards, on September 29th, 1892, having spent sixty-four years of his life in the Yellow Robe. The grave disputes which then arose between France and Siam necessitated the postponement of the funeral for more than eight years. The corpse was at last cremated after imposing ceremonies on January 16th, 1901 on the Royal Piazza.

During the still brilliant period corresponding to the reign of King Mongkut, the Wat Pavaraniveça was the object of works which finally gave to it its present appearance. At the beginning of the reign, a small pavilion was constructed against the wall, to the West of the principal gate, to be used by the King as a dismounting station when coming in state for the *kathina* celebration,—a sign which evinced the importance in which the monastery was then to be held. The roof of the Bôt was decorated with Chinese ornaments; on the pediments were figured King Mongkut's arms: a crown and a sword placed on a cup. The statue of Buddha Jinasiha was surmounted by a nine-tiered umbrella which had been used at the cremation of King Phra : Nāng Klāo; in 1855 a socle was cast in *sāmrit* and the statue

was entirely regilded<sup>1</sup>. The decoration of the Chedi was completed: notably four statues in *sāmrīt* representing a lion, an elephant, a horse and an eagle, were placed above the pediments. Behind the Chedi, a row of *kuṭī*, which used to be assigned to Cingalese guests, was demolished, and a small Vihāra with a surrounding gallery was built. The interior of this building is divided into two rooms, each containing a statue of the Buddha. The one placed in the Western room is the reclining Buddha Phra: Seyyā of which mention has been made above; it had remained unsheltered since the demolition of the South wing of the Bôt; it was later covered with gold so that it does not look like a stone statue, the walls are decorated with pictures depicting the surrounding scene of the Nirvāṇa, so forming an ensemble with the statue. The other statue is the Phra: Çāstā, a sitting Buddha in bronze, 3 metres 25 high, which comes from Phitsānlōk like the Jinasīha with which legend makes it contemporary, but seems to be much later. Transported during the Second or Third Reign to a monastery near Bangkok, this statue was transferred by order of King Mongkut, first to Wat Sudaṇa, then, after the completion of the Vihāra in 1863, to Wat Pavaraniveça so that it might be, as at Phitsānlōk, in the same monastery as the Jinasīha. Its neck was broken during transportation.

Between the Vihāra of the Phra Çāstā and the Chedi, a second Vihāra was built, parallel to the first and of smaller dimensions; it is terminated on either side by a kind of small kiosk in Chinese style from which the name of Vihāra *kung* was given to this building. The interior is decorated with Chinese pictures representing episodes from the popular romance "Sam kōk" or "History of the Three Kingdoms". In 1885 King Chulalongkorn had two statues placed in this Vihāra in memory of the two first abbots of Wat Pavaraniveça. One, called Buddhavajirāñña, after the reli-

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1. King Mongkut evidenced by many offerings his veneration for the celebrated statue. At the beginning of his reign, he caused a costly *raçmī* to be made in enamelled gold, to cover that of the statue on ceremonial occasions (It is known that the *raçmī* is a flame which crowns the head of the Siamese Buddhas). He offered it also a jade ring, gold and silver trees, etc.

gious name of King Mongkut, is a standing Buddha dressed with royal ornaments, symbolical of the double career of the first Abbot. The other, which received the name of Buddhapaññaagga and personifies the Prince Pāvāret, represents a standing Buddha clothed in a *civara* which covers both shoulders; in its soles are enshrined ashes of the Second Abbot <sup>1</sup>.

Behind these two new Vihāras, a site was cleared at the end of King Mongkut's reign to plant a cutting of the Bodhi tree brought from Buddha Gaya, which locality European archeologists had just ascertained to be the very place where the Buddha reached Enlightenment. It is surrounded by a wall enclosure with an outside gallery sheltering statues of the Buddha. The tree was planted at the beginning of the following reign.

Besides, the part of the monastery allotted for the habitation of the Bhikkhus was much improved. The old wooden *kaṭi* were demolished and replaced by brick buildings. Prince Pāvāret had constructed, in front of his personal residence, a Sala the walls of which are decorated with Chinese plates, and another Bodhi tree, which also was brought from Buddha Gaya, was planted in the vicinity.

At the beginning of his reign, King Chulalongkorn had only built two new groups of *kaṭi* and completed the works in progress. But in 1890, in view of Prince Pāvāret's consecration as supreme chief of the Siamese Church, the monastery was entirely renewed. The religious edifices were simply restored, but the Bhikkhus' quarters were improved with new buildings. In order that the octogenarian patriarch might easily perform his religious duties, the King decided, in 1892, to have *sīmā* planted around the residence of the Abbot, so making this area available for ritual acts; but the consecrating ceremony was not completed until a month after the death of Prince Pāvāret.

1. In 1930 a third statue, called Buddhamanussanāga and similar to the Buddhapaññaagga, was placed in the Vihāra *keuy*, in memory of the Third Abbot, Prince Vajirañāga (whose personal name was Manussanāga). Its inauguration took place on January 30th, 1931.

The third Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṇa was a son of King Mongkut, Prince Vajirañāṇavararasa, born on April 1st, 1860. Entering this monastery as a novice in 1873, ordained a Bhikkhu in 1879, and a brilliant candidate at the ecclesiastical examinations, he had been appointed, as early as 1881, second head of the Dhammayuttika group. He had spent a portion of his time at Wat Makutaṣatriya and at Wat Somanassa which had become, by result of the decline of Wat Pavaraniveṇa, the actual centres of the reformed sect. He was too young to have been able to play up until then any prominent role, but he had acquired a great experience of the internal affairs of the sect, and realised all that remained to be fulfilled to achieve the work of his father. Having become in 1892, at the death of Prince Pāvāret, Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṇa, he also succeeded him in the duties of head of the Dhammayuttika sect which eventually King Chulalongkorn, two years later, was to separate from the central great group, and to constitute as a fourth great group uniting all the communities that had embraced the reform.

Prince Vajirañāṇa was the real continuator of King Mongkut, who had transmitted to him his temper, his intellectual inquisitiveness, his exasperation at the nonchalance of others, and his untiring activity. His religious convictions, as with his father, coexisted, or rather combined, with a solid rationalism, adverse to teleological controversies, aiming above all at self-control and moral betterment. Early familiarized with Western ideas, having learned English from the age of twelve, he loved, like his father, the company of Europeans, and evinced for some of them a faithful affection. But he was endowed with a quality which had been badly lacking in King Mongkut: orderliness. He will be remembered for having organised and definitely established the reform in the Siamese Church. However, he did not feel any animosity against the unreformed sect. On the contrary, he strove all his life to find a common ground of agreement which would put an end to the division of the Sangha. He openly published the fact that he attached no importance to the external differences which distinguished the two sects; and if he succeeded but partially in his attempt at union, he was at least suc-

cessful in making predominant in every community the ideas which were at the very basis of the reform: knowledge of the Law and adherence to discipline.

The administrative qualities of the young Abbot immediately appeared in the manner in which he brought back order to his monastery as well as into the group of which he was the head. Resuming an idea of King Mongkut, which had been subsequently given up, he divided between several dignitaries responsible to him the different charges relative to the management of the monastery: henceforth regular accounts were kept, revenues and expenses were checked, and at the same time an effective supervision was instituted over the inmates and the lay personnel attached to the service of the monastery. This organisation was subsequently taken as a model by all the important communities of the country. As regards the administration of the Dhammayuttika group, the task of Prince Vajirañāṇa was much more delicate. For twenty years Prince Pāvāret had left the direction of the movement slip from his enfeebled hands. Already rare during King Mongkut's reign, meetings of the Abbots and dignitaries of the Dhammaynttikā communities had completely discontinued since the accession of King Chulalongkorn. So there was no more cohesion between the heads of the Reform. The Wats Somanassa and Makutaṣatriya had enacted regulations of their own, and had even started to open up branches. The unity of the Group was threatened. Prince Vajirañāṇa succeeded in again making the Wat Pavaraniveṣa the unquestioned centre of the new Sect. Owing to his knowledge of the practices instituted by the dissenting Wats and the personal acquaintances that he had made there, he rapidly came to an understanding. Relations once re-established, he did not let them relax again. All the Dhammayuttikā monasteries then obeyed one uniform rule and remained under the guidance of the Abbot of Wat Pavaraniveṣa.

But it is principally in the domain of religious teaching that Prince Vajirañāṇa proved to be the true follower and real executor of the ideas of King Mongkut. The founder of the Dhammayuttika sect had insisted on the obligation for the Bhikkhus to know the



(અ.ન.પ.)

H. R. H. Prince Vajirānāḍa (1860-1921)

*From a photograph taken in 1920*





regulations and doctrine of the Order, but as he had failed to settle upon a programme of studies, this injunction could not have its full effect. In every Siamese monastery, there are two categories of bonzes: those who get ordained by vocation, and intend to devote their life to the Buddha, and those who get ordained in compliance with custom, and are only contemplating a few months retreat. For these latter, it was of no avail to take up the study of Pāli, so they confined themselves to learning some prayers, and to gleanings occasional notions of the doctrine from the mouth of their teachers; that is to say that they drew no profit from their monastic stay. The fruitful idea of Prince Vajirañāṇa was to divide the teaching given in his monastery into two classes, corresponding to these two categories of bonzes. The newly-ordained Bhikkhus were then to receive from their preceptors lessons in Siamese, teaching them the Buddhist rules of morality, the main points of the doctrine and the principal events in the life of the Buddha; written exercises and periodical examinations kept up a proper emulation between the pupils. Those who desired to keep on wearing the Yellow Robe after their probation was satisfactorily finished, were admitted to the study of Pāli and to the preparation for ecclesiastical degrees. This system, which was gradually improved, gave excellent results, and was soon to be adopted even by monasteries not belonging to the Dhammayuttika sect. From this time dates the organisation of a really effective religious teaching.

As early as 1893, the teaching services at Wat Pavaraniveṇa were united into a kind of University called Mahāmakkhārājavidyālaya, in memory of King Mongkut. This foundation, promptly endowed with considerable gifts, was definitely consecrated by King Chulalongkorn three years later. It soon had branches in most of the Dhammayuttikā monasteries. This University received from Prince Vajirañāṇa its programme of studies, modern methods of teaching, epitomes for the use of the different classes of pupils, and a pedagogical library until then non-existent. Wat Pavaraniveṇa had for a time its own printing press as in the time of King Mongkut, and if it was given up, it was only

because it was found more advantageous to resort to professional printers. The Mahāmakūṭa University has remained till now a very prosperous publishing house, whose publications,—among which the works of Prince Vajirañāṇa still held a prominent place,—supply the libraries and schools of the Kingdom and even of Cambodia. It had from 1894 a periodical organ in which appeared sermons specially intended to serve as models for the Bhikkhus living far from the Capital.

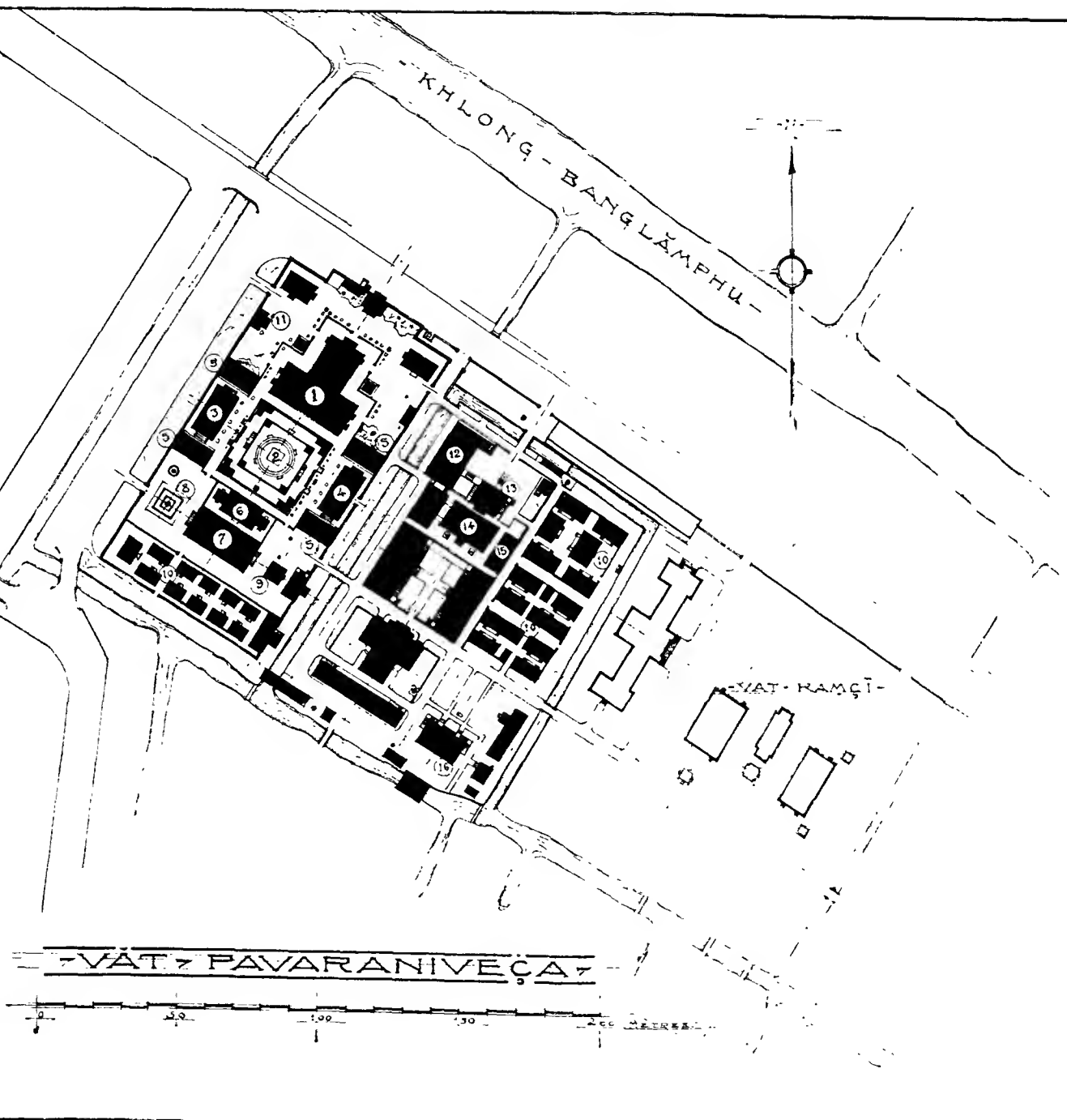
The successor of Prince Pāvāret as Sangharāja was the famous preacher Pussadeva, Abbot of Wat Rājapratīṭṭha, then in his eighties. This appointment was merely honorary. In fact, Prince Vajirañāṇa, despite his youth, was the actual head of the Church. He presided over, and very actively participated in, the work of the committee entrusted with the preparation and publication of the first printed edition of the Siamese Tipiṭaka, completed in 1893. He was the inspirer of the Law of 1902 on the administration of the Sangha, which is now the Constitutional Law of the Siamese clergy. King Chulalongkorn had found in him an invaluable auxiliary to support and carry on, in the religious domain, the policy of modernisation which he had imposed to the country. His successor, Rāma VI made an official recognition of the authority which the Prince had already enjoyed, by investing him, on November 5th, 1910, soon after his accession, with the functions of supreme head of the Church under the title of Mahāsammā, raising him at the same time to the same princely rank as that to which Prince Pāvāret had been conferred.

With Prince Vajirañāṇa, the Wat Pavaranivega rapidly recovered the prestige it had lost. Since the foundation of the Mahāmakūṭa University, all the princes without exception chose this monastery for their traditional stay. King Rāma VI, then Prince Vajirāyudha, in 1904, and his successor the present King, then Prince of Sūkhôthāi, in 1917, were ordained Bhikkhus there. The revival of favour which the monastery enjoyed is exemplified by the successive important works which were made in the Bhikkhus quarters, and which greatly modified this part of the monastery. Two new residences were built

# Reference to Numbers.

1. Bôt
2. Chedi
3. Kan barien
4. Library
5. Sala of the rishis
6. Vihāra keng
7. Vihāra of the  
Phra: Çastā
8. Bodhi-tree
9. Bell-tower

10. Kuṭī
11. Buddhapāda
12. Diamond building
13. Candra building
14. Building erected in  
the IVth reign
15. Phra: pānja building
16. Present residence  
of the Abbot





for the Abbot, one, the Candra building<sup>1</sup> by King Chulalongkorn in 1905, the other, the Diamond building by King Rāma VI in 1914. New groups of *kutī* were erected, especially on pieces of land belonging to an adjoining monastery, the Wat Raṃṇisuddhāvāṇa, for a long time nearly abandoned, and united to Wat Pararamiveṇa in 1905. A big building in Gothic style was also constructed in 1914 to be used as a lay school. On the other hand, the part of the monastery which contains the religious edifices has remained almost as it was at the death of Prince Pāvāret. In 1909, a Holy Footprint was installed behind the Bôt in a kind of altar built in the middle of the gallery: it had been brought from Xānat by Prince Çakti during Phra: Nāṅg Klāo's reign and placed until then in the Chapel of the Second Kings' Palace.<sup>2</sup> Mention must also be made of four stone statues placed in 1912 in two small structures, formerly used as bell-towers, which flank the Bôt at the entrance of the monastery. The standing Buddha comes from Wat Phāja Ok at Lopburi, and is a fine specimen of Dvāravatī art. The original place of the three other statues is unknown. The two which are on the Western side of the Bôt are said to have been brought from Java by King Chulalongkorn.

Prince Vajirañāṇa died on August 2nd, 1921, a short time after he had celebrated his sixtieth birthday in the midst of great festivities where most of his religious and lay disciples had gathered around him. The cremation took place in April of the following year on the Royal Piazza. A statue of this great Patriarch, cast by order of King Rāma VI, has been placed in the Bôt, at the foot of

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1. After the name of Princess Candrāsavadvāra, daughter of King Chulalongkorn, from the estate of whom funds were taken for the construction of this building.

2. This *buddha-pāda* must not be mistaken with that which has been described by Fourmureau (*Le Siam ancien*, I, p. 242-248) and more recently by Prof. G. Coedès (*Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, p. 151-156). This latter comes from Sūkhóthāi, and bears an inscription dated A. D. 1426: it is to be found in a Sala situated against the inclosure of the monastery to the West. In the same Sala is a walking Buddha in *alto-rilievo* of unknown origin.

the Jinasiha, opposite to that of his predecessor, Prince Pāvāret, which had been ordered by King Chulalongkorn, but was not completed until 1916.<sup>1</sup>

*N. B.*—While this article was in the press, I have received, through the courtesy of Miss S. Karpelès, Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, Phnom Penh, some information concerning the introduction of the Dhammayuttika sect in Cambodia. A short notice on this subject may not be out of place here. The Dhammayuttika sect was established in Cambodia by the Sōmdēt Phra : Sugandhādhipati, whose personal name was Pān. He was born in 1824 in the province of Battambang. When a novice, at the age of thirteen, he went to Bangkok, and received religious education at Vat Sāket. At the age of 21, he was ordained a bhikkhu in the Siamese sect. After some years, he felt dissatisfied with the ideals of his fellow-bhikkhus. He met with Prince Mongkut at Vat Pavaraniveça, and was allowed to stay at Vat Paramanivāsa to be initiated to the rules of the new sect. In July 1849, he definitely joined the Dhammayuttika group, being re-ordained in the reformed community with Prince Mongkut as his *upajjhāya*. Soon after, he obtained the degree of *bharian*, with the title of Mahā. In 1854, the King of Cambodia, Ang-Duong, asked King Mongkut to send a religious mission to Udong, then the capital of Cambodia, in order to establish a branch of the Dhammayuttika sect in his kingdom. King Mongkut appointed the Mahā Pān as head of the mission, comprising six bonzes, who went to Cambodia on the same year. King Ang-Duong gave to the Mahā Pān the direction of Vat Salaku, at Udong. In 1867, when the capital was transferred to Phnom Penh, King Norodom called him to the new capital, at Vat Botum Vodei, which has remained till the present time the centre of the Dhammayuttika movement in Cambodia. Mahā Pān was successively raised to the titles of Ariyavaṇṇa, Phra : Vimaladhamma and Sōmdēt Phra : Sugandhādhipati. He died on February, 1894.

1. May I be permitted to offer my thanks here to Mr. R. C. Luning for his much valued revision of the manuscript of this translation from the French of my article.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

R. LINGAT.—*L'Esclavage privé dans le vieux Droit Siamois*, Paris 1931, 1 Vol. 8°. xi-395 p.

Monsieur R. Lingat a publié en France en 1931 un volume fortement documenté sur *l'Esclavage privé dans le vieux Droit Siamois*.<sup>(1)</sup> En choisissant comme sujet d'étude une des plus intéressantes institutions du passé, il nous donne une contribution à l'histoire de ce pays qui est précieuse, non seulement au point de vue juridique, mais aussi au point de vue sociologique.

Comme juriste, et avec le souci de voir se constituer une histoire véritablement scientifique du droit siamois, je fais à l'ouvrage de M. L. un accueil tout spécialement chaleureux. Des monographies de ce genre sont les pierres d'assise de la construction à élever : puissent de nombreux ouvriers apporter les matériaux nécessaires !

M. L. dans son introduction discute la question de savoir si l'esclavage était connu des populations thaï lorsqu'elles occupaient encore leur ancien habitat au sud de la Chine. Il en expose les éléments, pèse les raisons et conclut par une hypothèse fort vraisemblable : l'esclavage a probablement existé chez les Thaï à l'état rudimentaire au moins en ce qui concerne les prisonniers de guerre, il s'est développé, perfectionné au contact des peuples parmi lesquels ils émigrèrent qui connaissaient déjà cette institution.

Ce point d'érudition, difficile à élucider dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, importe d'ailleurs peu, car, faute de documents datant d'une époque antérieure, c'est l'esclavage tel qu'il résulte de la codification de 1805 que M. L. se propose d'étudier, son évolution depuis cette époque, son abolition par le Roi Chulalongkorn.

Cette codification n'ayant pas été une élaboration législative nouvelle, mais une reconstitution du droit en vigueur à Ayuthia avant sa chute, nous nous trouvons être en possession des règles qui gouvernaient l'institution à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avant l'établissement de la capitale du royaume à Bangkok.

Avant d'entrer dans le vif de son sujet, M. L. aborde une

(1) Cet ouvrage a été récemment honoré par la Faculté de Droit de Paris qui lui a attribué le prix "Paul Deschanel."



question qui s'impose à l'examen lorsqu'on étudie la législation siamoise ancienne et que l'on peut formuler ainsi : Le droit siamois a-t-il subi l'influence du droit indou, et comment cette influence s'est-elle exercée ?

C'est une opinion assez répandue que le droit siamois ancien a fait des emprunts au droit indou. M. L. établit par des arguments, à mon sens, difficilement réfutables, qu'il n'y a pas eu influence directe du droit indou sur le droit siamois : cette influence ne s'est exercée que par l'intermédiaire du droit mon.

M. T. Masao avait jadis relevé dans ce Journal que la division des esclaves en sept classes, que l'on trouve au début de la loi siamoise sur les esclaves, était identique à celle figurant dans le Code de Manu. Il en concluait un peu vite qu'elle lui avait été empruntée. M. L. nous démontre qu'elle provient en réalité des traités composés au Pégou.

M. L. a relevé maintes similitudes entre le droit mon-birman et le droit siamois, et la démonstration me paraît faite que le droit mon, tel qu'il apparaît à travers l'ancien droit birman, a été le véhicule de l'influence juridique indoue.

M. L. termine son introduction par une bibliographie siamoise comprenant des textes législatifs et des ouvrages juridiques de doctrine et de jurisprudence. Cette bibliographie témoigne de l'étendue de ses recherches, et sera fort précieuse pour toute personne désirant se renseigner ou faire des études sur le droit siamois.

Dans un appendice à son livre, M. L. nous donne une traduction de la Loi sur les Esclaves et une traduction de la Loi sur le Rapt. La première est faite sur le manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale Vajirañāṇa, appartenant à la série dite secondaire, la seconde sur les textes des manuscrits officiels, dits *va: bāb luang*, établis en 1805.

Il existe diverses sources d'esclavage. Le préambule de la Loi sur les Esclaves emprunte au Dharmasātra deux énumérations qu'il place en quelque sorte en antithèse : l'une indique sept sortes d'esclaves qu'il est licite d'employer, l'autre les six sortes d'esclaves qu'il n'est pas licite d'employer. Pour cette dernière catégorie, le mode de

désignation en est assez étrange, car il s'agit en réalité de personnes qui ne sont pas esclaves ou qui ne le sont plus.

Mais revenons aux esclaves. Chacune de ces sept sortes correspond à un mode d'acquisition différent : achat, donation, héritage, etc.; et les esclaves de chacun de ces groupes devaient avoir une condition particulière. Il en est ainsi en droit indou, en droit mon-birman, et il a dû en être de même en droit siamois. La révision législative de 1805 ne laisse plus apparaître ces différences et ne nous présente plus de dispositions que pour les seuls esclaves achetés. Sauf en ce qui concerne le droit de rachat, le mode d'acquisition des esclaves est sans influence sur leur condition, celle-ci est la même pour tous, c'est celle des esclaves achetés.

Cette minutieuse classification, posée en frontispice de la Loi sur les Esclaves par le législateur de 1805 n'a donc plus d'intérêt que pour déterminer comment on devient propriétaire d'esclaves.

Si l'on néglige les modes dérivés d'acquisition des esclaves, il ne reste plus que quatre modes originaux : les esclaves de guerre, les esclaves acquis en justice, les esclaves achetés, les esclaves de naissance.

Les causes de vente d'une personne libre en justice se rattachent pour la plupart à un principe que l'on peut formuler ainsi : on répond sur sa personne de ses dettes civiles <sup>(1)</sup> et pénales. La condition de ces esclaves acquis en justice est particulièrement dure, car ils ne bénéficient pas, semble-t-il, du droit de rachat.

Par esclaves de guerre, il faut entendre les prisonniers ennemis emmenés en captivité à la suite d'une guerre, ils constituent une partie du butin de guerre et appartiennent au roi. Mais celui-ci disposait d'une partie de ces captifs en faveur de ses officiers, et ce sont les captifs ainsi attribués qui constituent à proprement parler les esclaves de guerre.

Leur condition était caractérisée par le fait que, jusqu'en 1805, le droit de rachat leur était refusé ainsi qu'à leurs descendants.

La catégorie des esclaves achetés est de beaucoup la plus

1) C'est l'idée du droit romain ancien : *pecunia creditur corpus obnoxium*.

nombreuse et a une telle importance que le législateur de 1805 n'a conservé, en matière d'esclavage, que la partie de la législation ancienne concernant les esclaves achetés ; de plus, le "statut" des esclaves achetés, la question du droit de rachat mise à part, semble avoir servi de modèle depuis l'époque de Bangkok pour toutes les autres catégories d'esclaves. Ainsi s'explique et se justifie le fait que l'étude de M. L. porte principalement sur les esclaves achetés.

L'achat peut être évidemment un mode originaire ou un mode dérivé d'acquisition selon qu'il porte sur une personne libre ou sur une personne déjà esclave.

Il faut mettre à part les esclaves d'origine étrangère, dits esclaves "achetés à bord d'une jonque", qui ne semblent avoir pas bénéficié primitivement de la condition des esclaves de naissance siamoise. Ils paraissent avoir formé pendant longtemps une catégorie spéciale, extra-légale, nous dit M. L.

Voilà un fait des plus intéressants pour l'histoire comparée du droit. Il n'est qu'une manifestation de cette défaveur pour l'étranger qui a persisté dans la plupart des législations jusqu'aux temps modernes. La personne humaine n'est tenue pour telle que par les membres du groupe ethnique, juridique ou religieux dont elle fait partie.

Dans le droit cependant fort évolué de Justinien, l'étranger qui appartient à une nation n'ayant pas un traité avec Rome n'est pas considéré comme une personne humaine, comme un sujet de droit, c'est une chose, un bien sans maître, dont le premier venu peut s'emparer et faire un esclave<sup>(1)</sup>.

On distingue trois sortes d'esclaves achetés : ceux qui n'ont pas été achetés définitivement, ceux qui ont été achetés définitivement, et, enfin, ceux qui ont été achetés et qui ne sont pas employés. On peut, dans cette notice, négliger, en raison de son peu d'importance

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1) A une époque relativement récente, ne voit-on pas l'esclavage prohibé entre chrétiens, toléré ou même approuvé par le Pape lorsqu'il s'agit de non-chrétiens ? Au milieu du XVe siècle, le Pape Nicolas V donne sa haute approbation au commerce des nègres pratiqué par les Portugais. Aux XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles, le Pape a des esclaves turcs sur ses galères (Cf. Paul Viollet, *Histoire du droit civil français*, p. 363 et 364).

théorique, la troisième catégorie<sup>(1)</sup> pour ne s'occuper que des deux premières.

Les esclaves qui n'ont pas été achetés définitivement font l'objet d'un contrat que M. L. a fort heureusement appelé "vente fiduciaire". La personne de l'esclave tient lieu de sûreté réelle pour garantir un prêt, l'acquéreur étant le créancier, le vendeur le débiteur. On n'aurait pas une idée complète du système si l'on n'ajoutait que l'on peut se vendre soi-même fiduciairement, et, ainsi, se donner en garantie de sa propre dette.

Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'une sorte de gage prenant la forme particulièrement énergique de la vente à réméré. Ce contrat me semble, au moins à son origine, pouvoir s'expliquer par cette idée de gage. M. L. trouve qu'elle est insuffisante pour justifier certaines conséquences qui sont communes à la vente définitive conclue dans certaines conditions.

M. L. considère finalement le contrat d'esclavage comme étant de même nature, qu'il s'agisse d'esclaves achetés définitivement ou non. Il n'en faut pas moins tenir pour certain,—et M. L. le reconnaît,—que pendant la période de Bangkok, la distinction de ces deux catégories d'esclaves, a conservé une grande importance. Il est très intéressant de noter au point de vue sociologique que la condition des esclaves non achetés définitivement était sensiblement plus douce que celle des esclaves définitifs. Elle a exercé une influence heureuse sur l'évolution de l'esclavage. C'est sur elle que la condition des autres esclaves s'est peu à peu modelée jusqu'à finalement se confondre avec elle.

A côté de ces esclaves dont la servitude a une origine contractuelle, existe la catégorie des esclaves nés.

Qui naît esclave ? La réponse est facile pour les enfants nés d'un père et d'une mère esclaves, ils suivent le sort de leurs parents

1) Cette catégorie constitue cependant une espèce curieuse d'esclaves : l'esclave non employé reste en apparence libre, car il s'est engagé à payer les intérêts de son prix à son maître comme un débiteur ordinaire, mais la vente définitive ou fiduciaire dont il est l'objet crée sur sa personne au profit du maître une sorte de nantissement sans désaisissement.

et sont esclaves comme eux ; tout au plus trouve-t-on quelques difficultés à résoudre lorsque le père et la mère sont sous la dépendance de maîtres différents. Il y a lieu alors à partage.

Une situation plus délicate et plus difficile se présente lorsque l'un des parents est libre et l'autre esclave, car les unions entre gens de conditions différentes ne sont pas interdites, sous réserve de l'autorisation du maître.

Dans ces unions mixtes, l'enfant suit en principe la condition de la mère. Cette solution donnée au problème, comme d'autres en cette matière, se fonde sur l'idée, d'un réalisme tout pratique, de l'appropriation des fruits par le maître. Différents cas sont d'ailleurs à distinguer je me contente d'énumérer le principe et de souligner que le droit siamois est très libéral. On ne peut s'empêcher de songer à certaine règle implacable du droit barbare : *ad inferiorem personam audit origo*.

Il y a mieux encore. Les enfants nés d'un père libre et d'une mère esclave ne sont pas tous esclaves : les premiers nés sont attribués au maître de la mère, le mandarin a droit de prélever la moitié de ceux qui naissent postérieurement pour les corvées royales, les enfants ainsi choisis sont donc de condition libre.

Un des traits caractéristiques de l'institution de l'esclavage au Siam est la facilité extrême avec laquelle on devient esclave. Le mari peut vendre sa femme, le père peut vendre ses enfants, toute personne capable de s'obliger peut se vendre elle-même. Le passage tout-fois de la condition libre à la condition servile trouve, en ce qui concerne les hommes, certains obstacles dans l'organisation de la société.

Tout homme libre non assujéti par profession au service royal doit donner chaque année au Roi une partie de son temps, 6 mois, 4 mois, 3 mois, selon les époques. Comme, d'autre part, l'esclave définitif cesse d'être assujéti à cette corvée royale parce qu'il doit tout son temps à son maître, on comprend que le passage d'un homme de l'état libre à l'état d'esclave apporte un trouble inévitable à l'or-

ganisation sociale. Ce trouble est encore aggravé du fait que les hommes libres sont répartis en groupes placés chacun sous l'autorité d'un chef.

L'homme qui devient esclave par vente ou par adjudication en justice ne va-t-il pas être perdu pour le groupe auquel il appartient ? Il est paré à ce risque par une règle qui veut que le corvéable s'adresse de préférence à son mandarin chef de groupe pour obtenir un prêt ou pour se vendre. Ce mandarin a aussi la priorité pour se faire adjuger par justice tout corvéable, membre de son groupe, devenu insolvable.

Mais il se peut que le mandarin ne soit pas assez riche pour consentir un prêt ou payer le prix d'achat, et le procédé se trouve alors en défaut. L'homme libre est perdu pour le groupe auquel il appartenait. Une procédure toutefois est prévue pour empêcher les fraudes et les collusions possibles, une enquête doit être faite pour s'assurer que celui qui veut devenir esclave y est véritablement contraint par la misère.

Malgré ces obstacles, dans la pratique peut-être plus apparents que réels, le contrat d'esclavage est d'un usage fréquent. M. L. en étudie les conditions de validité en groupant ses explications sous deux chefs : consentement de la personne vendue, forme du contrat d'esclavage.

Il n'y a pas de difficulté en matière de consentement lorsque celui qui se vend est *sui juris*, la question devient plus délicate, plus nuancée, lorsque les personnes vendues sont *alieni juris*. Le vendeur est alors le chef de la famille dont elles dépendent. Le nombre des personnes soumises ainsi au pouvoir d'un même chef a varié au cours des temps avec l'organisation de la famille, celle-ci se retrécissant peu à peu pour ne plus comprendre finalement que les femmes, les enfants et les esclaves. Le chef de la famille peut disposer librement des personnes soumises à son pouvoir sans que leur consentement soit requis. Il faut attendre l'année 1868 pour que le Roi Mongkut décide que le mari ne peut vendre sa femme sans le consentement de celle-ci et interdise aux parents de disposer de leurs enfants âgés de 15 ans sans leur consentement.

Le contrat d'esclavage ne paraît avoir été originairement soumis à aucune forme, sauf en matière fiduciaire. Il convient en effet de se souvenir que la vente fiduciaire garantit un prêt, il faut donc nécessairement un écrit pour en déterminer le montant. On rédige en ce cas un *krömăthăn*. C'est très anciennement un écrit soumis à des formes spéciales, puis un écrit sous seing privé tout à fait analogue à celui exigé en matière de prêt ordinaire. Il est dressé en un seul exemplaire remis à l'acquéreur et doit être obligatoirement rédigé par une personne étrangère aux gens de l'acquéreur.

Au début de l'époque de Bangkok, le Roi Phra: Phūtta: Jot Fa décida que toutes les ventes d'esclaves, même celles à titre définitif, devraient être faites en présence de juges royaux ou du chef de la province. L'inobservation de cette formalité n'étant pas sanctionnée par la nullité, ces prescriptions tombèrent en désuétude et le *krömăthăn* resta un écrit privé.

Il faut arriver au début du règne de Chulalongkorn, à un moment où l'on envisage déjà la suppression de l'esclavage, pour retrouver des prescriptions transformant le *krömăthăn* en un acte rédigé avec le concours d'officiers publics; un décret royal du 22 Septembre 1870 régleme la forme de tous les contrats et édicte des prescriptions particulièrement rigoureuses pour les ventes d'esclaves. Ces actes devront, à peine de nullité, être passés devant l'*ămphō* ou le *kămnăn*. Il ordonne même que dans un délai d'un an tous les *krömăthăn* anciens soient refaits à la diligence des maîtres d'esclave, tout *krömăthăn* non revêtu du sceau de l'*ămphō* ou du *kămnăn* sera, un an après la promulgation du décret, tenu comme sans valeur en justice.

Je laisse délibérément de côté dans cette revue d'ensemble du livre de M. L. le commentaire purement juridique qu'il nous donne sur les effets du contrat d'esclavage. J'en retiens cependant ce trait caractéristique, à savoir que la vente d'esclave est toujours, et pour le prix entier, une vente au comptant. Le paiement du prix n'est donc pas une obligation née du contrat, mais bien plutôt un de ses éléments constitutifs.

La condition des esclaves s'offre à la curiosité d'un public plus étendu que celui des seuls juristes, puisqu'elle se rattache, au moins dans ses grandes lignes, à l'histoire générale. M. L. nous la décrit dans de copieux développements.

Elle a évidemment varié selon les époques et l'on doit reconnaître qu'elle fut toujours très douce. L'heureux accord sur ce point d'écrivains célèbres, La Loubère qui écrit au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Sir Bowring et Mgr. Pallegoix qui écrivent au XIX<sup>e</sup>, est un témoignage auquel on peut accorder une foi absolue.

Ici, nous retrouvons toute la différence qui sépare les esclaves à titre définitif des esclaves fiduciaires. Les premiers subissent la loi la plus dure, et cela est parfaitement logique puisque d'eux seuls on peut dire qu'ils sont la chose de leur maître.

Ils sont placés sous la *siddhi* de leur maître, pouvoir que celui-ci exerce également sur sa femme et sur ses enfants. Le rapprochement s'impose tout naturellement à l'esprit avec la *patria potestas* du droit romain. Le maître ne semble pas avoir sur l'esclave définitif des droits sensiblement différents de ceux qu'il possède sur les autres membres de la famille soumis à son autorité. Selon les anciennes lois, le maître est seul juge de sa conduite vis-à-vis de son esclave, n'ayant de compte à rendre à personne à cet égard. Il ne possède pas cependant le droit de le mettre à mort, et si l'esclave meurt à la suite de mauvais traitements, le maître doit payer l'amende prévue en cas d'homicide, et le montant en est le même que si la victime était un homme libre.

Il faut attendre jusqu'à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle pour que les pouvoirs publics s'immiscent dans les rapports du maître et de l'esclave, et qu'un tribunal, la Cour Criminelle de Bangkok, se reconnaisse le droit d'apprécier l'usage que le maître fait de son droit de correction sur la personne d'un esclave définitif.

Antérieurement, le seul frein est dans les mœurs et c'est là que le témoignage des écrivains cités prend toute sa valeur, mieux que la loi, il nous révèle la vérité complète.

L'esclave fiduciaire jouit d'une situation meilleure, et les textes



élaborent pour lui en maintes circonstances une protection sérieuse. Le droit de correction du maître est limité, il engage sa responsabilité s'il cause à son esclave fiduciaire des blessures entraînant une mutilation ou une infirmité permanente. Mieux encore, l'emploi de l'esclave fiduciaire n'est pas libre, il doit être modéré et en rapport avec les intérêts du capital dû.

Tout cela s'explique parfaitement si l'on songe que l'esclave fiduciaire n'est pas véritablement vendu, qu'il n'est pas passé sous la *siddhi* du maître. Il vit dans sa maison sous son autorité, il est vrai, mais seulement pour garantir le remboursement d'une créance et donner son travail au lieu et place du paiement des intérêts du capital prêté.

Ne faut-il pas aussi défendre l'esclave fiduciaire contre les procédés d'un maître indélicat qui s'évertuerait à diminuer la valeur du gage reçu? Il serait trop facile, en effet, en usant de rigueurs excessives vis-à-vis de l'esclave fiduciaire, de diminuer son rendement et de provoquer sa fuite pour pouvoir mettre en cause ensuite la responsabilité du vendeur-débiteur et exiger le remboursement du prêt.

Le maître n'a pas que des droits sur son esclave définitif, il a aussi vis-à-vis de lui certains devoirs qui en sont la contre-partie. Il doit subvenir à ses besoins, lui assurer le logement et la nourriture. Il ne semble pas qu'il y ait une sanction judiciaire à l'inobservation de cette obligation, mais la loi, par des moyens indirects, rend très désavantageux pour le maître le fait de s'y soustraire. C'est ainsi qu'en cas de disette, le recel d'esclaves cesse d'être un délit, le recéleur d'esclaves peut garder ceux qu'il a recueillis en payant au maître la moitié de leur prix. Il peut aussi, et c'est à lui qu'appartient le choix, les rendre au maître contre paiement par celui-ci de la moitié de leur prix.

Le maître a vis-à-vis de son esclave fiduciaire une obligation alimentaire moins stricte: il semble même en être délié en cas de disette, car s'il pourvoit alors à sa subsistance, le vendeur-débiteur ne peut racheter l'esclave qu'en en payant la pleine valeur, et non plus en remboursant simplement le capital emprunté.

L'esclave en droit siamois n'est pas considéré comme une simple chose, susceptible d'être l'objet d'une cession et constituant une valeur dans le patrimoine de son maître, il est par ailleurs une personne au sens juridique du mot, un véritable sujet de droit.

L'esclave,—et j'entends par là celui qui est le moins favorisé, l'esclave définitif—peut se marier et non seulement par cohabitation mais avec cérémonies. Il peut, j'ai déjà en l'occasion de l'indiquer, épouser une personne de condition libre. Le mariage n'est pas rompu du fait que l'un des époux devient esclave postérieurement.

Le mariage existant entre esclaves ou bien mixte bénéficie de la protection de la loi, c'est-à-dire que le mari esclave, comme le mari de condition libre, a une action contre le complice de l'adultère de sa femme pour lui réclamer le paiement d'une amende. Si le maître commet l'adultère avec la femme d'un de ses esclaves, le mari n'aura pas droit à une amende, mais l'esclave sera affranchi et pourra emmener sa femme avec lui. Si celle-ci refuse de le suivre, ou si le mari refuse de la prendre, le maître devra verser le prix de la femme entre les mains de son esclave à titre de dédommagement.

L'esclave peut avoir un patrimoine dont il semble avoir la libre disposition. Ce patrimoine comprend les biens qu'il pouvait posséder avant d'être vendu, accrus de ceux qu'il a pu acquérir pendant l'esclavage. Au décès de l'esclave, le maître hérite des biens acquis par l'esclave pendant qu'il était à son service, tandis que les biens possédés antérieurement sont dévolus à ses héritiers naturels, et au maître à défaut de ceux-ci.

L'esclave a une capacité de contracter inévitablement réduite, sinon annihilée, par l'effet même de sa condition. Il se trouve, en principe, dépourvu de biens pour garantir ses engagements et il ne peut plus, comme l'homme libre, répondre sur sa personne qui est la chose de son maître. De là le principe que l'esclave ne peut s'engager personnellement qu'avec l'autorisation de son maître. Le maître, en accordant cette autorisation, renonce en quelque sorte à son droit sur la personne de l'esclave, ou plus exactement abandonne au créancier une priorité qui lui permettra de se faire payer sur la personne de l'esclave.

Le contrat passé par l'esclave à l'insu de son maître n'est pas nul, la Loi sur le prêt (art. 30) nous dit que l'esclave paiera sa dette quand il en aura les moyens, voilà qui précise bien que, malgré son état de servitude, il reste habile à contracter.

L'esclave qui s'engage avec l'autorisation de son maître n'engage pas ce dernier, car le droit siamois ancien ne connaît pas la représentation. Même si le maître emploie son esclave à faire du commerce, il ne s'engage que dans la mesure de la valeur de l'esclave et pas au-delà.

L'esclave, tout comme un homme libre, peut ester en justice au civil et au criminel. Le maître,—comme d'ailleurs le mandarin, pour son client de condition libre,—a le devoir de représenter son esclave lorsqu'il est demandeur ; quand l'esclave est assigné comme défendeur, le plaignant doit s'adresser d'abord au maître pour qu'il livre l'esclave au juge, on ne peut arrêter l'esclave hors de la maison sans en informer son maître.

Les juges ne peuvent procéder à une instance mettant en cause l'esclave sans convoquer son maître qui a le droit d'y prendre part, ils ne peuvent faire exécuter une condamnation contre un esclave sans prévenir le maître.

Le droit reconnu à l'esclave d'ester en justice lui est refusé dans ses rapports avec le maître, cela ne résulte pas de son état d'esclave, mais du fait qu'il est placé sous la *sildhi* de son maître. Il est à cet égard traité comme ceux qui y sont soumis, femmes ou enfants du maître. Pour lui, cela est particulièrement fâcheux, car la violation des recommandations légales en faveur du traitement équitable des esclaves se trouve dépourvue de sanction.

Grâce à une interprétation libérale des textes, et notamment de l'art. 85 de la Loi sur les Esclaves, le juge arriva, à une époque très récente, à se déclarer compétent pour connaître de toute infraction pénale commise par le maître au détriment de l'esclave.

Le maître, qui n'est responsable que dans une mesure très limitée en raison des contrats passés par son esclave avec son autorisation, n'est pas en principe tenu de répondre des délits de son esclave, sauf le cas de participation au délit commis ou de complicité.

Cependant, sous les espèces particulières envisagées, on décèle les traces d'une responsabilité jadis plus étendue atteignant le maître en tant que gardien de l'esclave. De toutes façons, le maître subit indirectement les conséquences de la faute de son esclave, la loi rend l'esclave responsable de ses délits dans sa personne. L'esclave pourra être vendu en justice pour payer l'amende ou la réparation des dommages, le maître, dépourvu de tout droit de priorité, risquera donc de le perdre. Il ne pourra le conserver qu'en le rachetant.

Cet état d'esclave que l'on revêt si facilement, on le quitte aussi avec une facilité assez grande. Il existe de nombreuses causes d'affranchissement, et l'affranchissement enlève toute trace de la condition servile antérieure. L'affranchi n'est pas rangé dans une catégorie sociale particulière, il recouvre la liberté pleine et entière, sans diminution, intégralement.

C'est faire œuvre pie, c'est acquérir des mérites, que d'affranchir son esclave. Il n'est sans doute pas moins méritoire de le laisser entrer dans la communauté bouddhique, et c'est là aussi un mode d'affranchissement.

À côté de ces affranchissements dus à la seule volonté libérale du maître, il en est d'autres qui sont de droit. Le plus important concerne l'esclave épousée par le maître.

Le maître qui contraint son esclave fiduciaire à avoir des rapports sexuels avec lui ou avec un de ses parents, subit une réduction de la moitié de sa créance. Ce n'est pas là un affranchissement, et si j'indique ce cas, c'est pour attirer l'attention sur le procédé employé par le législateur : Il réduit le montant de la créance et crée ainsi des facilités pour arriver à un affranchissement basé sur une autre cause, l'affranchissement par remboursement du prix.

La femme esclave à titre définitif n'est pas protégée contre son maître, mais les rapports sexuels qu'elle a avec lui prennent le caractère d'un mariage par cohabitation. Elle prend la condition d'une femme esclave. Elle est une épouse et en a les devoirs, notamment celui de fidélité. Si elle commet l'adultère, le maître

possède une action en dommages contre son complice. Son sort cependant n'est guère amélioré pendant la durée de cette union, tout au plus est-elle dispensée des besognes dont la charge incombe normalement aux esclaves. Elle n'a aucun droit dans la succession du maître. Par contre, ses enfants naissent libres et reçoivent même une part de la succession de leur père, mais moindre que celle attribuée aux enfants nés de femmes de condition libre.

C'est seulement lorsque l'union se dénoue par la mort du maître que la femme esclave est affranchie, mais encore cet affranchissement est-il subordonné à la condition que l'union n'ait pas été stérile.

L'esclave fiduciaire épousée par le maître ou un de ses parents jouit d'une situation plus favorable. Dès avant la chute d'Ayuthia, elle est définitivement affranchie au premier enfant qui naît de son mariage. Devenue épouse libre, elle acquiert de ce fait le droit de divorcer, mais les enfants, au lieu d'être partagés entre les époux selon le droit commun, appartiennent tous au père.

Le droit siamois, comme les droits indou et mon-birman, a connu primitivement de nombreuses catégories d'esclaves irrachetables. A ceux qui en faisaient partie, tout espoir était enlevé d'arriver par le rachat à l'affranchissement ou même, hypothèse plus facilement réalisable, d'échapper au joug d'un maître trop dur en se faisant racheter par un maître plus humain.

Le droit de rachat fut d'abord un privilège réservé à certaines classes d'esclaves, puis peu à peu étendu, de telle sorte que les esclaves de toutes catégories purent finalement en profiter. Cette extension libérale s'est d'ailleurs réalisée par l'adoucissement des mœurs, et non par des dispositions législatives directes. Si elle apparaît dans la loi, c'est seulement dans des textes qui impliquent comme postulat que les esclaves sont tous désormais rachetables.

M. L. nous montre que le droit de rachat semble avoir d'abord appartenu aux seuls esclaves fiduciaires et à leurs enfants.

Primitivement, les esclaves fiduciaires étaient vendus pour un prix nettement inférieur à la valeur marchande de leurs personnes, en principe la moitié. Mais, assez tôt, le montant du prix cessa

d'être un élément indispensable et caractéristique de la vente fiduciaire : les parties pouvaient donc donner par leur commune volonté le caractère fiduciaire, quel que fût le prix de l'esclave, et avec cette conséquence importante que l'esclave fiduciaire et ses enfants bénéficiaient du droit de rachat.

Comme nous le savons déjà, la vente fiduciaire était subordonnée à la rédaction d'un *krômāthān* qui indiquait le prix de la personne vendue et constituait la valeur de rachat.

Pour les enfants nés d'une esclave fiduciaire ils sont rachetables selon le prix du tarif légal. Ce prix est la valeur de la personne humaine selon l'âge et le sexe pour les compositions (*weergeld*) en cas de meurtre ou de lésion corporelles.

C'est seulement à l'époque de Bangkok que le bénéfice du droit de rachat fut successivement étendu aux différentes sortes d'esclaves.

En 1805, le Roi Phra : Phūtthā Jot Fa l'accorda aux esclaves de guerre, qui constituaient un groupe nombreux d'esclaves irrachetables.

L'emploi généralisé du *krômāthān* permit d'assimiler les esclaves définitifs aux esclaves fiduciaires, et la fixation d'un prix rendit possible le rachat. D'autre part, le Décret de 1805 qui confère le droit de rachat aux esclaves de guerre admet que tous les enfants d'esclaves, à quelque catégorie qu'ils appartiennent, peuvent se racheter, le prix de rachat étant la valeur de leur personne selon le tarif légal.

Les mœurs intervenant aussi, et devançant le législateur, s'opposent à ce que les créanciers usent vis-à-vis de leurs débiteurs de la plénitude de leurs droits. Ils n'osent plus recourir à la justice, soit pour se les faire adjuger comme esclaves, soit pour les faire vendre aux enchères. Ils ont recours à un autre moyen pour se payer sur la personne de leur débiteur : ils les acceptent comme esclaves pour un prix correspondant au montant de leur créance. La conséquence est favorable au débiteur qui ne devient pas un esclave adjugé en justice, mais un esclave acheté. Il faut attendre cependant jusqu'en 1892 pour que la procédure d'exécution sur la personne soit

abolie.

L'affranchissement n'est en principe soumis à aucune forme, il intervient sans le concours d'un représentant de l'autorité.

En cas de rachat, il s'agit d'en déterminer le prix. Ce sera celui qui figure au contrat de vente, à défaut, celui du tarif légal. Mais ce prix peut être diminué ou augmenté à raison des créances de l'esclave sur le maître ou du maître sur l'esclave. Le règlement de ces créances n'a lieu qu'au moment du rachat et il peut se produire un désaccord. On aura alors recours au juge, le maître a intérêt à s'y résigner, car, s'il a voulu exiger plus que son dû, il risque d'être condamné à une réduction de sa créance de deux fois la somme réclamée "par simple cupidité".

Le rachat est un droit pour l'esclave, qu'il veuille par ce moyen retourner à la condition libre ou simplement changer de maître (revenir sous la puissance du vendeur ou passer sous un maître nouveau). Le maître ne peut donc se dérober, et un recours judiciaire est ouvert à l'esclave dont la demande de rachat, trois fois renouvelée, n'a pas été accueillie. En ce cas, le maître qui, sans raison, a repoussé la demande, n'aura droit qu'aux neuf-dixièmes de la somme offerte par l'esclave comme prix de sa libération, son mauvais vouloir reçoit une légitime punition.

L'octroi de la faculté de rachat à tous les esclaves préparait les voies de la grande réforme libératrice réalisée en 1905 par le Roi Chulalongkorn. Certes, il ne faut peut-être pas se leurrer sur les conséquences pratiques du droit qui leur est ainsi reconnu, peu d'esclaves sans doute purent en user pour retourner à la condition libre. Comment, en effet, auraient-ils pu réunir les fonds nécessaires pour payer le prix de rachat ?

Le principe n'en est pas moins acquis, et sa mise en œuvre intelligente fournira la transition qui aboutira à la libération définitive de tous les esclaves.

Dès 1870, le décret du 22 Septembre, déjà signalé, ordonne la réfection de tous les *krômăthăn*, comportant l'intervention obligatoire

d'un fonctionnaire. Ainsi, le prix de chaque esclave se trouvait nettement déterminé et le recensement des esclaves facilité. Ces mesures, sans toucher encore à l'institution de l'esclavage, en préparent cependant l'abolition.

La loi du 21 Août 1874 porte délibérément atteinte à l'état de choses existant, elle limite le nombre des esclaves en en restreignant le recrutement. Elle dispose, en prenant pour point de départ l'année de l'avènement du Roi Chulalongkorn (24 Mars 1868), que tous les enfants nés pendant et après cette année seront libres à l'âge de 21 ans, qu'ils soient esclaves de naissance ou le soient devenus entre temps. Cet âge une fois atteint, ils ne pourront plus retomber à l'état d'esclavage. Un nouveau tarif légal est établi, croissant jusqu'à l'âge de 8 ans inclus (32 ou 28 ticaux, selon le sexe), décroissant ensuite de telle sorte que pendant les deux années précédant immédiatement l'affranchissement légal, entre 18 et 20 ans, il n'est plus que de 4 ticaux pour les garçons et de 3 pour les filles. L'ingénieux aménagement de ce tarif rend les affranchissements par rachat plus faciles et le prix fixé est libératoire, nonobstant tout prix conventionnel plus élevé.

De nombreuses années après, une loi du 20 Janvier 1899, vient créer l'engagement pour dettes et poser des principes nouveaux qui serviront, le moment venu, à la liquidation de l'institution de l'esclavage. Selon cette loi, une personne peut recevoir à l'avance le prix de ses services futurs et, en échange, s'engage à servir le prêteur qui devient son maître pour une période qui ne peut être supérieure à trois ans. La somme ainsi reçue d'avance s'amortira à raison de 8 ticaux par mois, si le serviteur n'est pas nourri par le maître, à raison de 4 ticaux seulement s'il reçoit la nourriture. Etant donné le tarif d'amortissement légal, d'ailleurs obligatoire, la somme prêtée ne peut dépasser 144 ticaux.

L'inexécution du contrat de la part du serviteur est sanctionnée pénalement par un emprisonnement de trois mois au plus ou une amende de 200 ticaux au plus, ou les deux peines cumulées.

Ce contrat de louage de services, bien qu'ayant un caractère un peu spécial, n'en diffère pas moins radicalement de l'esclavage, le



serviteur ne se lie que pour un temps assez court et le capital prêté s'amortit mensuellement. Seule une certaine coercition apparaît dans la sanction pénale de l'obligation du serviteur, mais quels moyens civils efficaces peut-on donner au maître dans une situation où il a affaire, en quelque sorte par définition, à un insolvable ?

Ces divers lois et décrets, par leur action combinée, ont déjà fortement ébranlé l'institution de l'esclavage. Une brève loi, promulguée le 31 Mars 1905 et mise en vigueur le lendemain, la mettra à bas avec une facilité extrême. On peut presque en citer les dispositions sans commentaire :

“Tous les enfants nés de parents esclaves sont libres sans avoir à satisfaire aux conditions prévues par la loi de 1874.

“Aucune personne actuellement libre ne peut devenir esclave. Toute personne actuellement esclave qui deviendra libre ne pourra retomber en servitude.

“Toute personne actuellement esclave pour dettes devra être créditée par son maître, sur le principal de la dette pour laquelle elle est en esclavage, d'une somme de 4 ticaux par mois, à dater du 1er Avril 124 (1905)...

“Si un esclave change de maître, le montant de la dette pour laquelle il est en esclavage ne pourra être augmenté ..”

Grâce à ces dispositions, l'esclavage va s'éteindre, soit que l'esclave meure—ses enfants sont libres,—soit que sa dette s'amortisse par l'effet du tarif légal. Peu d'années suffirent à restituer aux derniers esclaves la condition d'hommes libres.

L'esclavage se muait pour disparaître en un engagement pour dette, cette forme particulière de louage de services créée par la loi du 20 Janvier 1899.

J'ai essayé de rendre aussi exactement que possible la pensée de M. L. et de donner dans un bref résumé une idée d'ensemble de son livre : j'y ai peu ajouté de mes propres réflexions, me réservant d'exprimer, en matière de conclusion, quelques idées que me suggère la lecture de son étude sur l'esclavage.

Il en est une que je tiens à présenter d'abord pour la mettre en relief, elle se rattache aux développements que M. L. a consacrés à l'étude juridique des effets du contrat d'esclavage. Si je n'ai pas résumé cette partie de son livre en bonne place, c'est parce que le Journal de notre Société, bien qu'ouvert aux études juridiques d'intérêt historique, n'est cependant pas une revue de droit. Mais je veux dégager le résultat du travail de M. L. sur ce point et le souligner, car il me paraît particulièrement intéressant.

Il résulte de l'étude juridique du contrat de vente d'esclave que le droit siamois a produit, pour organiser ce contrat selon un certain idéal d'équité, une technique plus fine et plus nuancée qu'on aurait pu le supposer. Les moyens mis en œuvre pour atteindre cette fin ne sont pas très sensiblement différents de ceux qu'emploient les législations occidentales, et c'est avec raison que M. L. fait appel à notre vocabulaire juridique pour les désigner : garantie d'éviction, garantie des vices, etc.... Le droit siamois connaît indubitablement ces choses, mais soucieux des seuls cas concrets, il n'a pas dégagé les idées inspirant les solutions, ni les mots pour les exprimer, Et l'on se prend à songer que la très vieille loi de Hammourabi (vers 2.000 avant J. C.), dans ses articles 278 et 279, visait déjà des hypothèses où le vendeur devait garantir les vices de l'esclave qu'il avait vendu !

Mais tenons-nous en au seul droit siamois, et constatons simplement qu'il se rencontre fort heureusement en ces matières avec le droit européen moderne. Telles dispositions du Code Civil et Commercial siamois, en ce qui concerne certains contrats usuels, n'ont que l'apparence du droit importé : malgré les références qui les rattachent à des Codes modernes, elles sont tout à fait conformes par leur nature à des solutions données par le droit siamois ancien.

L'appréciation de la condition des esclaves au Siam, appréciation faite en comparaison avec celle des esclaves en d'autres temps et en d'autres lieux, appelle, me semble-t-il, quelques observations.

Les esclaves ont au Siam, une condition douce, ils sont bien traités, il semble qu'il n'y ait guère de différence, entre l'assujettissement de l'esclave et celui du serviteur, que celle de la durée, l'un

connaît une fin, l'autre se transmet, en principe, indéfiniment.

Cette situation de l'esclave, dans l'ensemble très favorable, à quelles causes faut-il la rattacher ? M. L. souligne avec raison que l'esclavage qui se pratiquait au Siam vers le milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle était beaucoup plus humain que celui qui florissait à la même époque en Afrique et en Amérique. C'est exact, mais pourquoi cet état de choses ? Il ne suffit pas, à mon sens, d'invoquer, comme on serait tenté de le faire, l'influence du bouddhisme, de dire que ce pays est de mœurs douces, l'explication est insuffisante ; il faut, à mon avis, faire appel à l'idée de l'utilisation économique de l'esclave. C'est elle, à mon sens, qui fournit l'explication véritable, vraie d'ailleurs pour toutes les civilisations qui ont connu l'esclavage.

Au Siam, l'esclave n'a jamais été un instrument économique, une machine humaine condamnée à fournir un certain rendement agricole ou industriel, il est employé aux travaux peu fatigants de la maison, il est un serviteur parmi les autres domestiques. Rien d'étonnant à ce qu'on n'attende de lui qu'un travail limité et qu'on ne fasse pas preuve vis-à-vis de lui d'une dureté particulière,

Tout autre est le destin des esclaves transportés en Amérique, sorte de cheptel attaché à un domaine agricole, on exige d'eux le travail maximum. Le maître ne les connaît pas individuellement et ne se soucie de leur existence que pour évaluer le rapport entre leur prix de revient et le rendement fourni.

Lorsque l'esclave est ainsi utilisé, la rigueur, et parfois même la cruauté du maître sont sans limites, quel que soit l'état d'évolution de la civilisation. C'est vraiment à ces moments-là que la condition des esclaves est la pire, certainement beaucoup plus dure qu'aux époques primitives. Aux époques primitives, l'esclave est soumis, il est vrai, à la puissance arbitraire et illimitée du maître, mais il n'est pas en cela plus mal traité que les autres personnes *in potestate*, telles que femmes et enfants. Du moins, il a sa place dans une famille élargie, on ne l'ignore pas en tant qu'être humain. Le *pater familias* romain a le droit de vie et de mort sur ses esclaves, mais il ne les oublie pas dans ses prières quand il célèbre le culte.

Le trait le plus caractéristique de l'esclavage siamois, trait

qui semble avoir dominé son évolution et marqué même son abolition, c'est son apparentement étroit avec l'endettement. L'esclave, pourrait-on dire d'une façon générale, est un débiteur privé des moyens de s'acquitter, dont la personne gage le capital dû et qui paie les intérêts par son travail. La loi de 1905 ne saura trouver de meilleur moyen pour le libérer que de le rendre à la condition de débiteur en organisant à son profit un amortissement régulier de sa dette.

นาย เงิน (*Nai Ngon*) ne signifie-t-il pas maître d'un esclave et aussi créancier ?

La situation de débiteur, selon les mœurs proprement siamoises, me paraît impliquer déjà une certaine sujétion vis-à-vis du créancier. Le débiteur fait figure d'esclave possible sans doute en raison du principe qu'il répond de sa dette sur sa personne, s'il est dans l'impossibilité de la payer.

Les raisons qui amènent le débiteur à emprunter exercent aussi leur influence, car ce n'est pas pour tenter la fortune dans quelque entreprise qu'il emprunte, mais pour subvenir à ses besoins et à ceux des siens. Voilà qui rend bien douteux qu'il trouve jamais les moyens de rembourser son créancier. Des dettes de ce genre en appellent d'autres. Le prêteur d'aujourd'hui est le prêteur probable de demain. Le lien tend à se resserrer entre le *nai ngon* et le débiteur, celui-ci se place dans une situation subordonnée, cherche à se rendre utile à son créancier, lui rend certains services dans les grandes circonstances de la vie. Le débiteur devient insensiblement une sorte de client, astreint à certains devoirs, mais jouissant de la protection de son créancier.

Que la dette tarde à être remboursée, que le créancier exige le paiement de son dû, et ce débiteur-client deviendra tout naturellement un esclave. Le passage de l'état ancien, déjà durable, à l'état nouveau, qui est définitif et permanent, se fera ainsi par une sorte de gradation avec une facilité extrême.

D'ailleurs, comme le notait déjà La Loubère, au Siam, la liberté a peu de valeur, et les Siamois " craignent plus la mendicité que l'esclavage. "

Peut-être se trouvera-t-il quelque chercheur patient, curieux

des choses du passé, pour nous dire avec quelque précision quelle était la condition des hommes libres durant les derniers siècles. En quoi consistaient ces corvées royales qui, au temps d'Ayuthia, assujétissaient les hommes libres pendant six mois de l'année? Des renseignements précis sur ce point, en établissant un terme de comparaison, nous aideraient à déterminer plus exactement encore la situation véritable de l'esclave.

Il n'est pas douteux que le besoin d'une protection et d'une sécurité relative ait beaucoup contribué à accroître le nombre des esclaves. Le désir des jouissances immédiates exerça aussi très certainement, sur un peuple aimant la vie facile, une influence considérable.

Ainsi s'était constituée une énorme classe d'esclaves qui, au milieu du siècle dernier, comprenait, au dire des écrivains de l'époque, environ un tiers de la population.

Cette constatation montre combien il était opportun d'intervenir; en supprimant l'esclavage, le Roi Chulalongkorn ne faisait pas seulement un geste qui devait augmenter l'estime des autres nations pour le Siam, il prenait aussi une mesure indispensable au progrès de son pays et à sa réorganisation intérieure selon le type d'un Etat moderne.

L. DUPLATRE.

**ADDITIONAL NOTE TO "A SIAMESE ACCOUNT OF THE CONSTRUCTION  
OF THE TEMPLE ON KHAO PHANOM RUNG".**

Referring to my commentaries to the translation of "A Siamese account of the construction of the temple on Khao Phanom Rung", published in January 1932 in the J. S. S. vol. XXV, part 1, Professor Georges Cœdès, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient in Hanoi, nearly a year ago wrote to me and kindly drew my attention to several points in my commentaries which, according to his opinion, ought to be corrected. I regret very much that owing to lack of spare time I am only now able to make known and to comment on Prof. Cœdès' points of view, most of which I gratefully accept.

With regard to the age of the Dharmāṣaḥas, mentioned in my paper p. 90, Professor Cœdès opines that these are contemporaneous with the Bayon temple in Angkor Thom, the construction of which has now been proved to have taken place during the reign of King Jayavarman VII, the date for their construction should therefore also be fixed at the end of the XIIth century A. D. and not during the reign of Yaçovarman (889-910 A.D.) as first fixed by Prof. L. Finot in his "Dharmāṣaḥas au Cambodge" (B. E. F. E. O. vol. XXV 1927 p. 417) and accepted by me.

After having carefully gone through Professor Cœdès' learned article "Etudes Cambodgiennes" (B. E. F. E. O. vol XVIII p. 81) I accept this correction as I am now convinced that Prof. Cœdès has conclusively proved through the inscriptions and the forms of art predominating at the end of the XIIth century as well as the religious conceptions of that period that the erection of the grand enceinte of Angkor Thom; its majestic gate towers adorned with the faces of the all merciful Bodhisattva, Lokēçvara, as well as the intricate labyrinthic Bayon and the Dharmāṣaḥas (dedicated to Lokēçvara too) were all due to the enthusiastic Buddhist king Jayavarman VII (1182-1201), during whose reign the cult of the Bodhisattvas and of deified personages flourished exceedingly.

The inscription found at Khao Phanom Rung is stated by me to date back to about A. D. 1100, this should be corrected to A. D.

1113, according to Prof. Cœdès in his "Etudes Cambodgiennes" (B. F. E. O. vol. XVIII). The inscription thus belongs to the reign of King Suriyavarman who reigned from 1112-1152.

With regard to the temple itself which represents no mean work, I take it that the construction of it was already begun by Suriyavarman II's predecessor, Dharanindravarman I, reigning from 1108-1112.

Next we come to the age of the temple of Phimai. According to Monsieur H. Parmentier, Chief of the Archæological Service of French Indochina, this temple dates, at the earliest, back to the reign of King Jayavarman V (968-1001) but Professor Cœdès thinks that it is not much anterior to Angkor Wat, which, he assumes, was either built during the reign of King Suriyavarman Paramavisnuloka (1112-1153) or by his successor King Dharanindravarman II (1152-1182).

In this connection it may be noted that according to an inscription, in Cambodian, discovered by me in 1918, in the Southern Gopura of the galleries, which enclose the three towers of the Phimai temple, it is stated that in the year 1108 A. D. a certain Khmer nobleman, presumably a viceroy of what now constitutes the circle of Nakhon Rajasima, erected a statue of a god, called Senapati Trailokyavijaya, (a Bodhisattava). (See my paper "An excursion to Phimai". J. S. S. vol. XVII part 1 p. 10). This proves that the temple of Phimai existed prior to the construction of the mighty Angkor Wat and on the whole I am inclined to accept Monsieur Parmentier's estimate according to which the construction of the temple took place in the last quarter of the Xth century.

On pages 102-103 of my paper on the Phanom Rung temple I have tried to explain the significance of the sculpture on the lintel of the interior northern door of the great central tower in Phimai by identifying the central figure with the god Vajrasattva and the personages in the lowest row below this god as representing the five Dhyanabuddhas over which, according to Mahayanistic belief, Vajrasattva presides. Professor Cœdès is of the opinion that I am wrong in my interpretation but as my learned friend so far (for lack

of time) has not been able to offer any other interpretation I shall adhere to my own until otherwise convinced that the explanation of this sculpture is a different one.

Finally I come to the inscriptions of Wat Phanom Wan. On page 105 of my paper I mention an edict by King Jayavarman VII, dating back to A. D. 1171. As this king reigned from 1181-1201 this is evidently a lapsus on my part. Prof. Coedès furthermore informs me that the above date has been wrongly read by Aymonier; as a matter of fact it should be 1004 Mahasakharaj or A. D. 1182 and the king mentioned in the edict is probably Jayavarman VI.

I would also like to point out that due to a regrettable mistake made by the clerk who copied the map of Southern Khorat the name for the temple on Khao Phanom Rung appears wrongly as Pum Rung instead of Phanom Rung.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN,

15th January, 1933.





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Germany.
- Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung, Leipzig, C. 1, Germany.
- Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Dorotheen str. 7, Berlin,  
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- Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 11 Königgratzer, Berlin.
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The Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.

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# THE SIAM SOCIETY

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(FOUNDED 1904)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science  
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring  
Countries.

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The new Siam Society building.

*Photo E. Gracie.*



**HIS MAJESTY AND THE SOCIETY.**

On the occasion of the opening of the building of the Siam Society His Majesty the King was most graciously pleased to command the following letter to be sent to the President :—

No. 82/1760

OFFICE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PERSONAL SECRETARY.

Hua Hin, March 10th 2475.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 1st March 1933, soliciting the favour of a message from the King to declare the new building of the Society open as from the 28th February 1933, the date originally arranged for the ceremony.

Taking note of the wishes of the Society, I have laid the matter before His Majesty. It is with pleasure that I now beg to inform you that His Majesty has been pleased to command me to convey to the Society the following message :

“In sympathy with the noble aim and achievements of this Institution, I share with members the pleasure in witnessing to-day the final completion of the Society's new home.

“My pleasure in the progress of the Society would have been more complete, had I been able to come and perform the opening ceremony for this building.

“Let not, however, my absence mar the interest of the occasion. Although not with you in person, I know that goodwill like mine pervades the whole assembly, and the Queen joining me in sending our best wishes, I do hereby solemnly declare this building open as the new home of the Siam Society as from the 28th February 1933.”

Will you kindly convey His Majesty's message to the Society in due course ?

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) M. C. VITULYA,

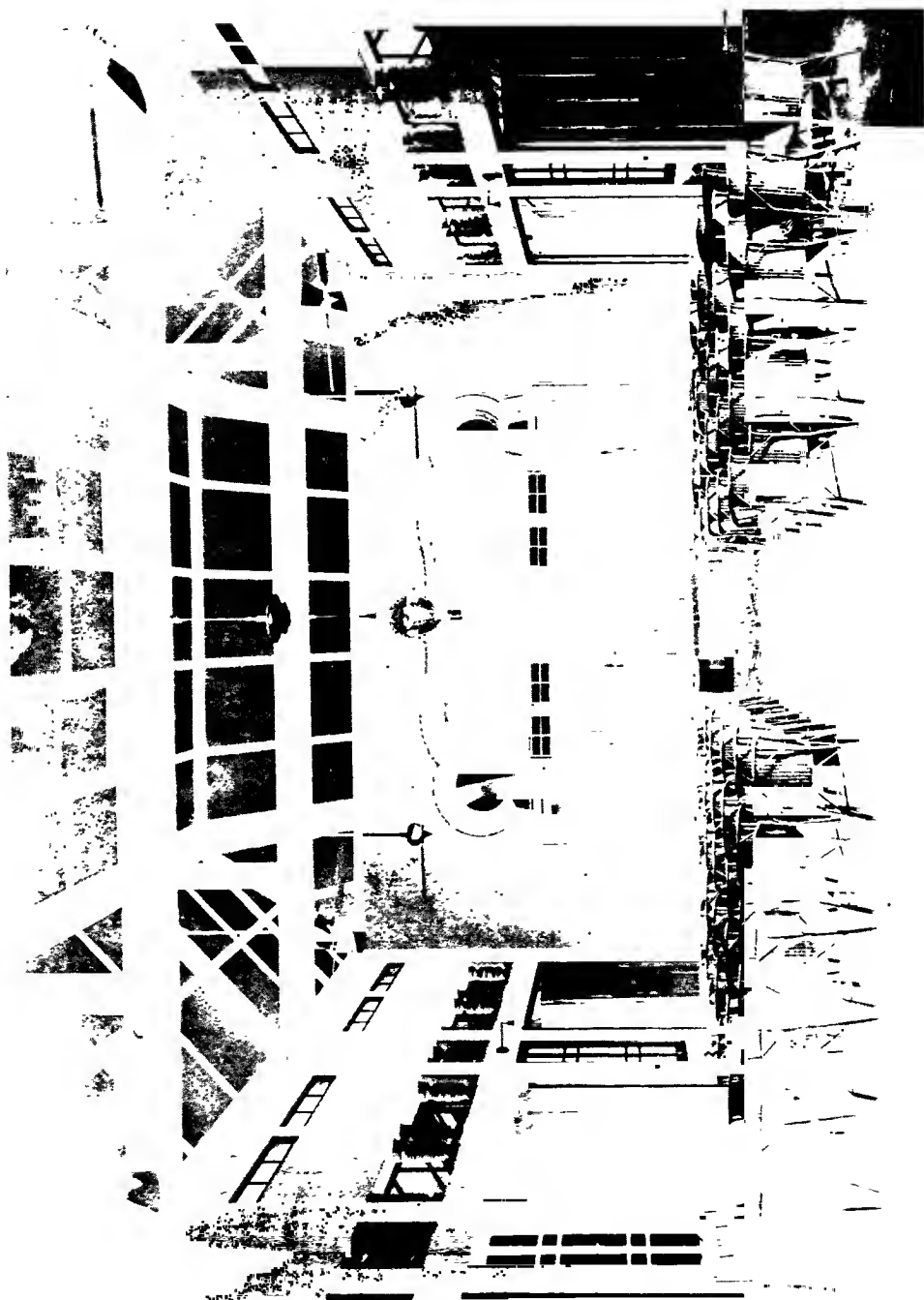
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His Excellency Phya Indra Montri,

President of the Siam Society,

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*Photo E. Grude.*

The lecture hall.





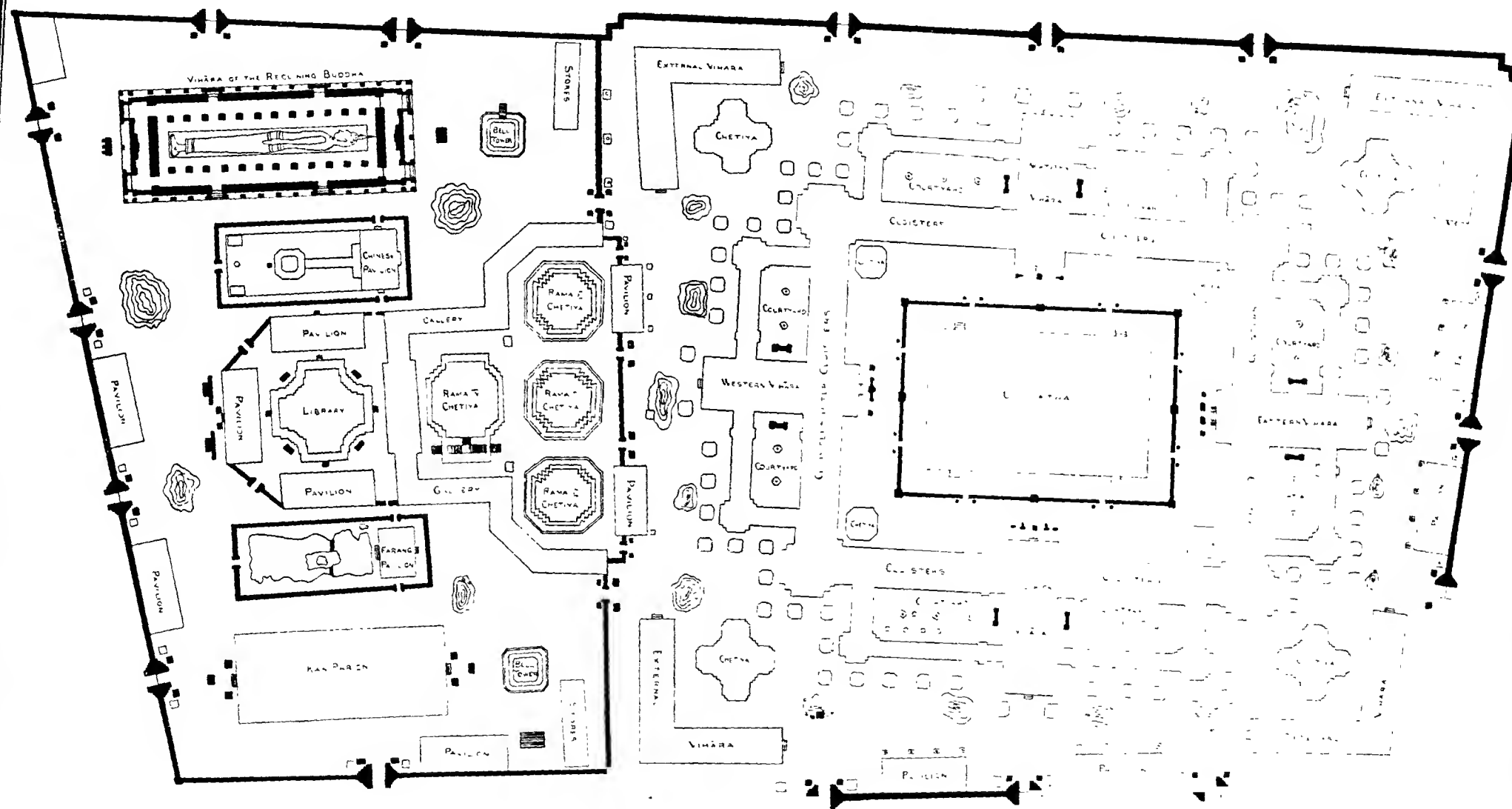
*Photo E. Grando.*

**The Library and Council Room.**





# GENERAL PLAN OF WAT JETUBON





## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF WAT PHRA JETUBON.

by

H. H. PRINCE DHANI NIVAT.

On the occasion of the cremation a little over two years ago of Phra Vinadathoe, the Royal Institute was enabled by the generosity of the deceased lady's children, the late Prince of Lobpuri and the Princess of Uthong, to publish for the first time the inscriptions of Wat Phra Jetubon in the original language.<sup>1</sup> They filled two volumes and were so varied in character that provided one took into consideration the limitations of scholastic facilities of the time it would not be far wrong to ascribe to these inscriptions the nature of an encyclopaedia. Indeed His Royal Highness Prince Damrong in writing a preface to these two volumes took pains to point out that, in deciding on the restoration of this the greatest of His August Grandfather's monasteries, King Rama III must have also been moved by another desire, that the monastery should be the seat of learning for all classes of people in all walks of life. The Prince went on to explain that in the absence in those days of printing facilities one could only study the professions from individuals, and usually the principles of such were handed down from father to son—a process which naturally tended to limit the scope of the propagation of Science.<sup>2</sup>

Before going on to deal at length with the general inscriptions it would be well to present here a short history of the monastery, materials for which are to be found either directly or indirectly from the inscriptions themselves.

The original monastery called Bodhārām had been in existence according to general belief since the Ayudhya period. The

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1. This paper was written in September 1932. It was not until some time after that the author noticed that the publications referred to had been reviewed in this Journal (Vol. XXV, Pt. 2), a review in which the framework of the publications was clearly defined.

2. Cf. also Prince Damrong's introduction to the *Phlengyao Kolabot and Kola Aksorn* published in Siamese by the Royal Institute in 1922 (B. E. 2465), pp. 28–30.

first source, an inscription in the east Vihara of the standing Buddha, dated B. E. 2331<sup>1</sup> (1789 of the Christian era), is responsible for the early history of the Wat. It relates that in that year "His righteous Majesty, Ramadhipati, reigning in Krungdeb, perceiving that the old monastery of Bodhārām was in a state of ruin", decided to restore it. After three years occupied in filling in the ground, the actual work of restoration began in earnest and lasted nine years. More than a thousand fine images of the Buddha lying in neglect in the provinces were removed from the North and set up here in various places. It appears from this inscription that the monastery was planned on the whole on the same scale as we find it today.<sup>2</sup> The monastery was provided with 66 men who were paid certain sums of money as keepers and entrusted with the care of the buildings and grounds. The chief keeper and his assistant received minor ranks in the nobility to ensure their official and social standing. The restoration in reality took the form of constructing new buildings on the old site, as practically nothing of the old monastery remained. In 1801, the work being completed, His Majesty celebrated the event in the customary way but on a grand scale, and renamed the monastery Wat Phra Jetubon after the famous Jetavana pleasance of Anāthapindikā at Srāvastī. The King poured water on the head of the main image in the presence of an assembly of the incumbent monks as an act of handing over what he had rebuilt for them, presented them with gifts, and customary food which he and his Court personally served, and distributed alms to the people and provided general entertainments and fire-works. The features of the celebrations were very much on the same lines as one finds today in merit-making and dedications, but there were two features of interest, the casting abroad of coupons by which one could claim sums ranging from 2 to 5 catties

1. Doubtless a slip. It should have been 2332. The slip was perhaps due to a confusion with the final figure of the civil era which was C. S. 1151.

2. Detailed description of the plan of the monastery as it existed in 1822 is to be found in Crawford's *Embassy to Siam & Cochin-China*, vol. I, pp. 163-167.

(160 to 400 bahts) from the Privy Purse and also of limes containing small coins. These two items totalled 40,480 bahts and were distributed as alms for the redemption of the King's family and chattels. It may be as well to explain that the motive of this act was the idea that the King dedicated his all to the people in honour of the monastery and then redeemed it by the above process. The concluding passage of the inscription is rather interesting. It states: "In undertaking to restore the monastery and in fitly dedicating it, His Majesty has not been actuated by a wish for reward (in future lives) such as Universal sovereignty or even heavenly joys, but by an aspiration to arrive at full and complete Knowledge whereby human beings will be restored from the wheel of misery.....". In fact the King dedicated his all not in exchange for the realisation of his personal ambition but rather that he might attain the knowledge which would be then used for the good of the people. This historical evidence is comforting to hear. Siamese monarchs after all seemed to have thought of and worked traditionally for the welfare of their subjects before their own!

Our second source of information, dated B. E. 2351 (1808), exists in print and may be found in the *Vajirañāṇ* magazine. It is not stated how the magazine obtained the record. This record being written in a style similar to the inscription referred to above, it has been thought by the Royal Institute that it was the draft, intended for inscription on a parallel tablet to the first in the same Vihara where a stone slab had already been set in the wall as yet without any writing. The date of this record being only some ten months before the demise of King Rama I, it has been suggested that the written record might have been delayed until it was too late to submit the draft to the King for his approval and finally given up. The gist of this draft is the miraculous discovery in Nan of some holy relics which were presented to the King and their due inclusion in places of honour in the monastery.

Our third and most detailed source of information was written in January B. E. 2388 (1845) as a record in verse by a contem-

porary poet and scholar, His Royal Highness Krom Kun Nujit Jinoros who was afterwards promoted Patriarch, and assumed the rank and title of Krom Somdech Phra Paramanujit. It brings us down to the second restoration by Rama III, whence we get the encyclopaedic part and the bulk of our inscriptions. It states that the King, on his annual state visit in 1831 to present the Kathin, went over the whole grounds and noticing that many of the buildings were in ruins, ordered their restoration. The main features of this second restoration were: the enlargement of the main chapel (the Uposatha), the fashioning of the image of the Reclining Buddha on the site of a former palace which was then made over to the Monastery, the erection of two of the three big pagodas directly west of the central enclosure of the Uposatha, the restoration and enlargement of the residential quarters for the priests, a general repair and many minor additions, and finally new mural decorations and paintings with the encyclopaedic inscriptions in explanation of them. The work of building additional cells for the priests as well as rebuilding the old ones began in 1832. In 1835 the restoration proper was commenced. The poetical narrative, which the author finished writing in 1845, does not mention the completion of this restoration. The history however of the third reign by Chao Phya Dibakarawongs, as yet unpublished, tells us that the restoration was not completed till 1848, three years after this narrative. This of course explains the meagre information in this narrative about the last important building of the whole group, the Vihara of the Reclining Buddha. The poet seemed to have been fully aware of the main features of this Vihara and actually mentioned that detailed specifications of the work of restoration were to be found inscribed in that presumably unfinished Vihara as will be seen later. The history, above mentioned, went on to say that the King fitly dedicated the work in the same year, features of which seemed to have been parallel to the dedication of the first restoration.

Let us now take a general survey of the precincts reiterating at the same time the individual features of this restoration in conformity with the poetical narrative. The monastery may be



Wat Phra Jetubon  
(from the air)





spoken of as being divided into two sections, the dividing line being identical with the present Jetubon road. North of the road is the main section wherein are situated all our points of interest. The southern section is mainly residential. It contains the comparatively ornate and spacious residence and office of the above mentioned Princee priest, the modern Pali school with a few other minor buildings which contain short inscriptions of a self-explanatory character. The whole area is chiefly made up of priestly cells quite simple in aspect and in strict keeping with their monastic character, and will not therefore be treated of here.

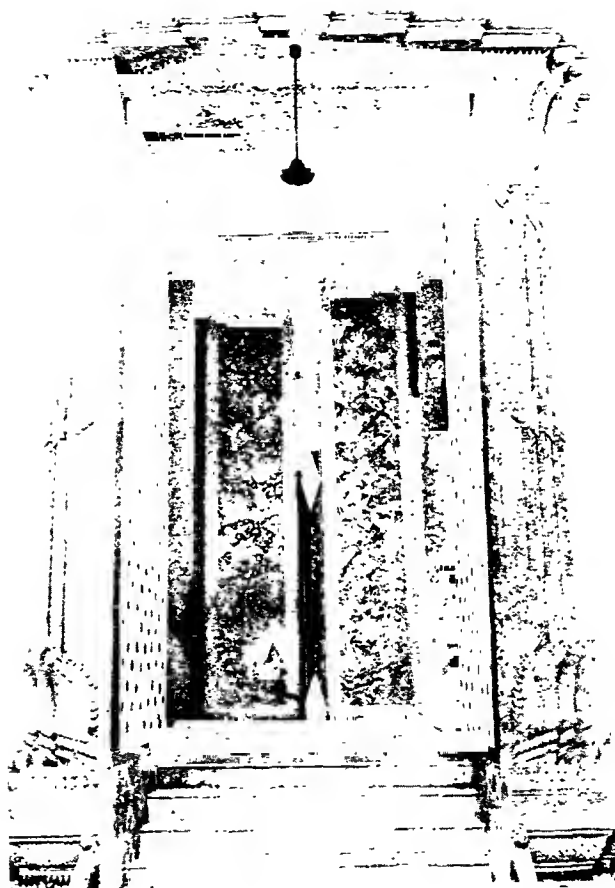
Reverting again to the northern section, the most important building though perhaps not the one best known to the public is the Bot or Uposatha, standing inside a walled enclosure directly facing east. The enclosure itself contained four Viharas or chapels facing the four cardinal points so that any one entering by whichever side will come upon one of these chapels before getting to the main building, the Bot or Uposatha. An Uposatha is the assembly hall of the holy Brotherhood wherein take place all their formal meetings and the more important ceremonies. A part of the remains of Rama I. collected from the crematory pyre was buried in this Bot, and it has been the custom for every monarch entering this building to pay respect to the memory of the Founder of the Dynasty. This main chapel was raised and enlarged in this restoration. On the walls between the windows were painted biographies of 41 eminent disciples of the Buddha with inscriptions in explanation thereof. The biographies were compiled from Buddhaghosha's commentary of the *Anguttara Nikāya*. Hereunder is given a specimen of the biographic inscriptions of the Uposatha :

“It is stated in the *Manorathapūraṇī*, commentary of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, first chapter, in the section relating to the Venerable Koṇḍañña thus: Formerly Koṇḍañña the Brahman lived at the Brahman village of Donavatthu near Kapilavastu. He was well versed in the three Vedas and in the nature of devotions. When the Buddha was born, his royal father assembled 108 Brahmans and

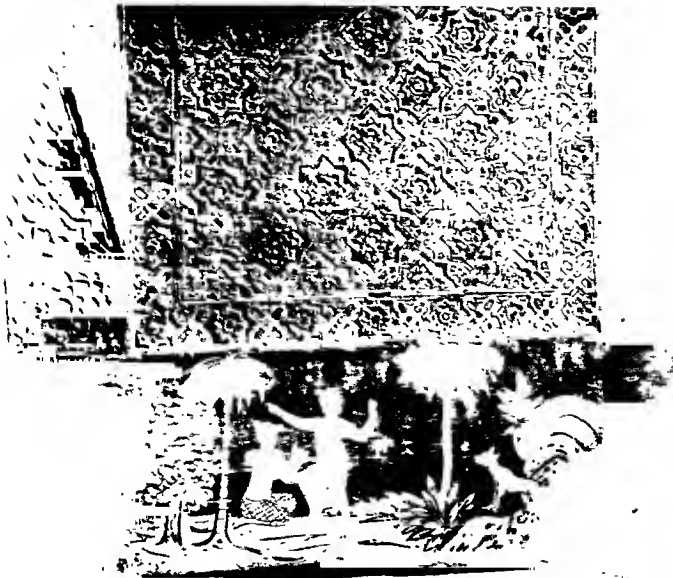
duly feasted them. Eight among them, experts in the understanding of human nature, were asked to try and see what the royal baby would become on attaining to manhood. Seven were of the opinion that he would grow up to be a universal sovereign but, should he decide upon an ascetic life, he would become the discoverer of Salvation, i.e., the Buddha. Koṇḍañña, however, predicted Buddhahood without any alternative. Later on Koṇḍañña lived to be the sole survivor of the eight, and with four sons took up ascetic life when the Prince, the future Buddha, did so, trying to discover the truth. When the Prince became the Buddha, he preached his first sermon laying down the Wheel of the Law to Koṇḍañña who with his four sons attained Arahatsip. He was considered eminent for becoming the first Arahāt."

Above the windows will be found the birth story of Mahosatha, while higher up next to the lofty roof are the usual representations of Hindu cosmology as modified and adopted by later Buddhism. Inlays of mother of pearl on the doors represent episodes from the Ramakirti, while at their backs are printed specimens of all grades of honorific fans presented as tokens of hierarchical rank by the sovereign to the holy Brothers. The backs of the wooden panes of the windows were inscribed with the seals and names of the dignitaries of the Buddhist Church, indicating that in those days it was divided into two jurisdictions. The northern one was placed under an abbot of Somdech rank in Bangkok, including all territories approximately north of Bangkok. All territory bordering on the Gulf of Siam both east and west as well as the Malay Peninsula was under the southern jurisdiction, the head of which was also of a similar rank and resident in Bangkok. The Metropolitan Church was divided among the two jurisdictions. The external panes were carved and gilded with conventional designs, and at their lower extremities are pictorial representations of nursery rhymes many of which, however, are still to be identified.

In taking leave of this central chapel, mention must also be made of the bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the Ramakirti on the



Inlaid doors of the Bot.



Scene thought to represent a nursery rhyme.  
(Bot window)



Honorific Fans, on doors of the main Chapel.



Honorific Fans, on doors of the main Chapel.



Relief around the Bot, scenes from the Ramakirti.





balustrades around it, each bearing an explanatory inscription in verse by contemporary poets including Prince Kraisara Vijit and Luangnai Jan Bhubes. The former was then head of the Department of Public Instruction and was in general charge of the work of restoration. His grandson was also Minister of Public Instruction under King Chulalongkorn, and an elder brother of the present Chao Phya Abhai Raja. Luangnai Jan Bhubes was a poet of some merit, his verses representing different metres, mentioned further on, being well known and popular.

We will now turn to the four Viharas forming part of the enclosure of the Uposatha. Of the four, the east one being in front was originally the larger, having besides the main chapel opening outside of the enclosure, an inner one back to back with it. King Rama III., however, provided inner chapels to each of the other three and therefore all four are now identical. In the east Vihara the front chapel facing east contains an image, brought down by Rama I. from Svargalok, of the Buddha sitting under the Bodhi tree. The subject of the mural decoration is the quest of the Prince Siddhartha after truth, the temptation and vanquishment of Mara culminating in his attainment of knowledge under the Bodhi tree in consonance with the incident of the image. According to Crawford (*ibid.* cf. Note 4), however, "The paper-hangings represented the war of the Ramayana." Crawford was probably misled by the figure of Mara, who is often represented in Siamese art by the identical physiognomy of Ravana. There does not seem to exist any explanatory inscription, the subject being of course familiar to all. In the chapel at the back of the eastern Vihara, besides the historical inscription mentioned above, there is an image of the standing Buddha from Ayudhya some ten metres in height. There are inscriptions explaining the mural paintings which depict the ten stages of decay of the dead body, a subject for meditation. The ten Knowledges (*aññā*) are also portrayed. Concrete representations of these have been taken from the conventional instances as taught in priestly schools of meditation. The theme of the paintings being the same as in King

Rama I.'s restoration. The following are examples of these two sets of inscriptions :

Stages of decay :—

“ 1. Uddhumātaka, meaning a dead body in a gaseous condition looking as if pumped up with air, thereby becoming most repulsive to look upon ;

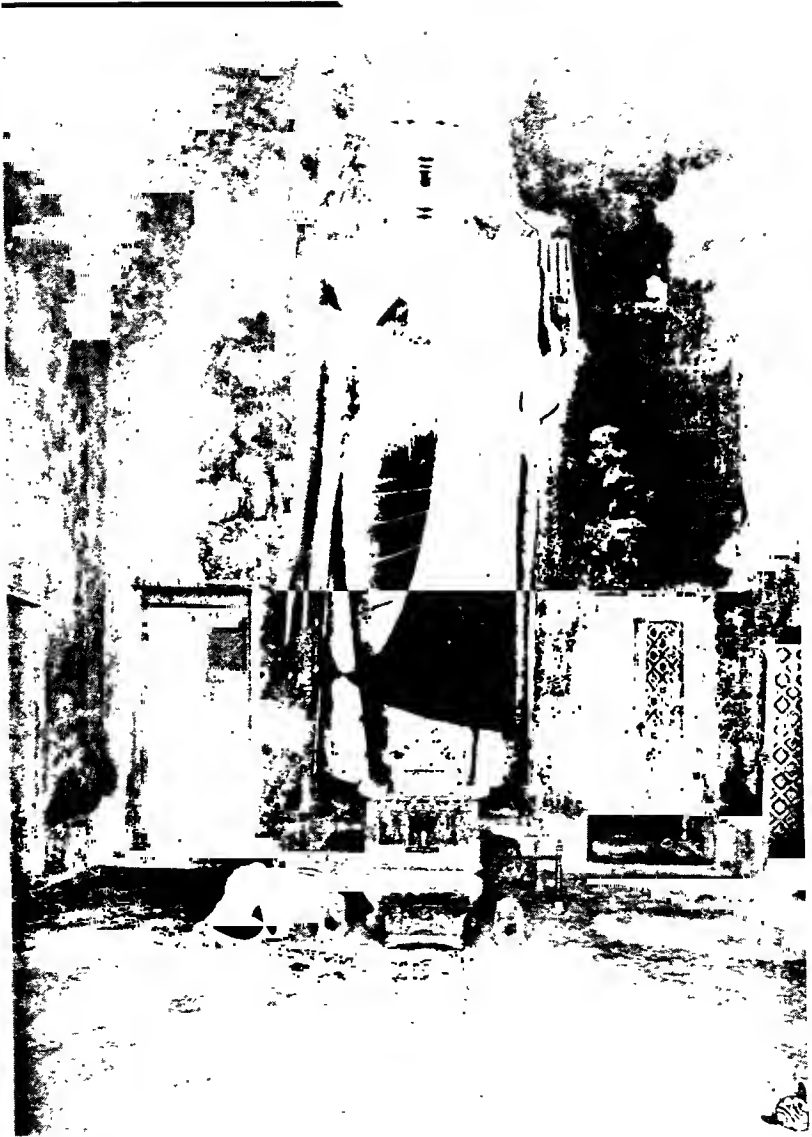
“ 2. Vinīlaka, meaning a dead body over which a state of putrefaction has set in, parts are black, red and white ;” etc., etc.

The Knowledges :—

“ 3. Bhaṅgānupassanāññā, the knowledge arising out of a contemplation of annihilation. The stock instance is that of a man who contemplating a broken piece of pottery can see nothing but its eventual breaking up from an entity ; another instance is that of a man who standing on a river bank and looking at drops of rains falling thereon can see the drops causing ripples as they come into contact with the river and then disappear.”

In the south Vihara King Rama I. originally set up an old image of the Buddha from Ayudhya in the attitude of preaching the first sermon to the five original disciples. Another image, however, known as Phra Jinaraj was brought down from Sukhodaya and set up in its stead some years later, and in it was buried a part of the holy relics from Nan as recorded in our second source of information. The walls of this Vihara were decorated with paintings depicting the same occasion as well as the Buddha's preaching a sermon to his mother in the heavens, a figurative way of expressing the state of spiritual knowledge to which she had attained. Crawford says here : “ The paper-hangings represented Gautama preaching to the assembled deities of the Hindoo Pantheon.” Rama III. restored this Vihara in accord with the original plan and added a back chapel which was adorned with mural paintings depicting incidents contained in the Stanzas of Victory, inscriptions in explanation of which were set up ; and here is a specimen of them :

“ In this section are depicted stories from the commentary



Back Chapel, East Vihara.



of the 'Bāhuñ stanzas', the first verse of which is:

*Bāhuñ saḥassamabhinimmitasāvudhañ*

referring to that episode of victory from the Pathom Sombodhi (the standard Siamese version of the life of the Buddha) in which the Buddha, seated beneath the Bodhi tree, vanquished Vassavati the Mara King and his army and then attained enlightenment, becoming the Buddha."

These Stanzas of Victory, believed to have been composed in Ceylon, are rather popular and are always chanted in a morning service of benediction. They consist of eight stanzas of Pali verse, each stanza referring to an incident of the Buddha's victories over evil, invoking in each stanza the Buddha's power to bestow a similar victory, with an additional stanza detailing the good result that would accrue to one repeating them from day to day.

The west Vihara, where King Rama I. set up first a seated image from Lobpuri in the attitude of being protected from rain by the Nāga king (a characteristic attitude of the Khmer art of Lobpuri), and subsequently replaced it by the more famous Phra Jinasih, brought down from Sukhodaya together with the Phra Jinaraj of the southern Vihara. The Jinasih image shared equal honours in every respect with the Jinaraj, including the burial of holy relics. The mural painting represented the story of the hair relics of the Buddha. Crawford, not being able to understand its purport, described what he saw rather graphically thus: "The representations . . . sketched of the modern city of Bangkok. The river is shown, with Chinese junks and European shipping: and among the most prominent figures are several Europeans, in the grotesque costume of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries." To understand the mistake one need only to go to any chapel where there is painting, such as in Wat Jetubon itself, in order to see historical scenes dressed in comparatively modern garb. In mural decorations it will not have been thought at all incongruous to paint Napoleonic sentinels outside the palace of the Buddha's father! All this was restored by Rama III. with the addition as already mentioned of a back chapel which contained mural decorations depicting the sacred

localities where the Buddha's footprints were supposed to exist. These places are the Saccabandha Mount (now known as Phrabad), the peak of Sumanakūṭa in Ceylon (Adam's Peak), the hill Rang Rung ("the Abode of the Rainbow") near Chiengmai in the country of the Yonakas, on the "Nammadāya" river in Burma "where it is to be found on the golden sands". Needless to say the artists were not in a position to have obtained any idea of the scenery of those places which, excepting possibly Phrabad might have seemed to them to be legendary. It is indeed a pity that the paintings in the four Viharas have mostly disappeared, and we have to be content with our inscriptions which, however, are more concerned with literary than artistic details. The inscriptions besides are only found in the back chapels and were doubtless due to the initiative of the second restoration.

The north Vihara as built by Rama I. contained a common form of Buddhist iconography representing the Buddha seated on a rock accepting offerings from wild animals (a monkey and an elephant)—while the walls were painted with conventional representations of the Buddhist World as modified from the standard cosmology of the Hindus in olden times. Crawford's description, while confirming the above, added that there were also "full-sized figures of natives of Lao, Pegue, China, Tartary, Hindustan, and Persia". These figures were probably decorations of the folds of doors, for Crawford went on to say that "they were purely ornamental". They were probably renewed and perhaps added to the second restoration for we now have among other figures of gentlemen of the period of Louis XIV (*vide* illustration). He went on to say that "the wall of the same chamber was also decorated with several Chinese copies of French and English prints". In the back-chapel added to the main Vihara by King Rama III. were painted the thirteen modes of asceticism or Dhutanga. A specimen of the inscription here is given thus :

" 8. Over this inscription is portrayed the ascetic mode of forest-dwelling. A monk can vow undertaking to dwell for ever in the forest, as the Venerable Nālaka, who was the nephew of the Ascetic Kāladevila. The latter once predicted



Figures of nationalities, North Vihara.





Buddhahood for the Prince Siddhartha and then told his sister about it. That lady persuaded her son to become an ascetic awaiting the Buddha. When the Prince actually became the Buddha, Nālaka visited him and having consulted him as to certain forms of ascetic ordinances took leave and went forth into the forest. He observed his forest-dwelling vow for seven months and became an Arahāt. He was found dead leaning against a rock with his face turned in the direction of the Buddha."

Between the four Viharas just described were cloisters surrounding the central precinct, in which are to be found some interesting inscriptions, namely lists, inside the caves, of territorial divisions of the Kingdom, inscriptions explanatory of literary works of the period, the Klōng Kolabot and the Phleng Yao Kolabot, and specimens of Prosody. The territorial lists are interesting for students of Siamese history and geography, and were in explanation of pictures of territories, arranged round the Upasatha in accordance with their geographical situation. They contained names of provinces, with, in some of the more important places, the titles of their Governors, and were said (in Prince Paramanujit's record referred to above as the third source of our information) to have consisted of 374 provinces. It is to be noted that while the general rule was that the first class provinces were directly responsible to either of the then administrative departments of the central Government and the minor provinces were dependent upon them, yet not a few of the latter were made directly responsible to either of the central Government's departments, often as we know from history for reasons of local politics. Unfortunately these inscriptions were scattered, being perhaps more in the nature of labels inscribed on stone slabs rather than inscriptions of any length. Many have been consequently lost and the Royal Institute has been able to secure 77 slabs containing names of only 194 out of the 374 provinces. A brief survey of the list may be of some interest.

In the east (front cloister); the two first class provinces were

Nakon Rajasema (note the *sema* which in modern time has become *simu*) and Phra Tabong (Battambang), the gubernatorial title of the latter being "Abhai Bhubes" which calls to mind the last governor under Siam who bore a similar title with the rank of Chao Phya. Nine out of 21 minor provinces in this section were directly responsible to the Mahadthai, the administrative department of the central Government for this part of the Kingdom. A missing province of some interest is the one we find written behind the Uposatha windows as Bhukhandhapuri (ภูขันธ์ห้วย). Now the modern province of Khukhandh (ขุขันธ์) has given rise to a great deal of discussion as to the meaning of its seemingly unintelligible name. It sounds rather like the name of the famous hunter of the Ramakirti but not quite that, as the hunter's name in the play was Kukhan (กุกขัน),<sup>1</sup> and besides he was supposed to have been chief of his province named Buriram. Since we have also Buriram almost next door, there does not seem to be sufficient reason in naming another province after him. Rather would it seem that the sound of the name Buriram has somehow suggested the hunter and thereby given a misrepresentation of some older name which was not so familiar. K'ukhan (คุขัน) has also been suggested<sup>2</sup> as meaning "surrounded by moats" but คุ is a Siamese word and for a Siamese word to be compounded with one from a classical language though permissible at times is not a common process. Bhukhandh is more agreeable in every sense and it would seem that our inscriptions may yet lay down the rule and accidentally fulfil their royal creator's supposed wish of setting the standard of learning.

In the south (right cloister), we find two minor provinces, Prachin and Nakon Nayok, directly responsible to the Mahadthai; and another (Phanasanikom) to the Krom Tha. Jolapuri and Chandapuri, two of the more flourishing provinces on the east coast, are missing; so also is Chachoengsao the seat of the modern administrative circle of Prachin. On the west coast we find Nakon Sri

1. The "Guba" of Valmiki's Ramayana.

2. By the Right Rev. Phra Brahmamuni, the present abbot of Boromaniwas Monastery.

Dharmaraj a first class province directly responsible to the Kalahom with Kedah or Thraiburi as a major tributary; whilst two other provinces, Pathalung and Songkhla, though ranking second class, are also directly responsible to the same department. Upon Songkhla depended some 21 minor provinces mostly situated to the south including the seven provinces which constituted the administrative circle of Pattani lately amalgamated with Nakon Sri Dharmaraj. Trengganu and Kelantan are missing.

In the west cloister behind the Upasatha, we find primarily Krungkao (Ayudhya) and the minor provinces of Lobpuri and Sarapuri under the Mahadthai; Rajapuri and three other minor provinces under the Kalahom; and one minor province (Nondapuri) under the Krom Tha. There are no doubt many missing, such for instance as the considerable province of Suphan.

The north cloister provides the most interesting list of all, its territory stretching from the north of Ayudhya right up to Bayab circle. It includes as well the Lao territories of the north-east, extending over the left bank of the Mekong to include what is now French Laos, ceded by Siam some sixty years later. Provinces directly responsible to the Mahadthai were:—

Tributaries: Chiengmai, Lamphun, Lampang, Nan, Phrae, Nakon Phanom, Wieng Chan, Pasak (better known by their Gallic orthography of Vientiane and Bassac) and (presumably) Luang Prabang (though the name of the last is missing, its dependencies were fully listed).

Major provinces: The first class province of Bisnulok as well as the province of Svargalok are missing but their dependent provinces are given; the major provinces of Sukhodaya, Bijai, Kambaengbejra, and Tak. The provinces of Nakon Svarga, Bichit, and their neighbours are entirely missing, though fully mentioned behind the Upasatha windows in the Church list.

In dealing with the inscriptions of the somewhat technical illustrations of Siamese poetic art among the cloisters, it would be well to bear in mind that according to the tradition of Siamese Prosody there are four main categories of poetry : The Klōng perhaps the most popular among the intelligentsia ; the Klon, more simple and easily adapted to lyrical uses, hence generally employed in drama ; the Kābya, a kind of easy metre excelled in by poets of the Ayudhya period, but not represented here ; and finally the Chanda, possibly later in adaptation from Pali and Sanskrit and more strictly conforming to its classical prototype. The poverty of short syllables in our monosyllabic language however renders the adaptation of the majority of classical Chanda metres difficult and even Prince Paramanujit could not put enough life into verses illustrating the 58 classical metres in our inscriptions. The Siamese Chanda, like the classical Sanskrit, consists of two groups of metres : those measured by the number of syllables called Varnavṛitti ; and those measured by the number of morae they contain, called Mātrāvṛitti. Our inscriptions here consist of the following :—

(a) Fifty slabs of the former group of Chanda, the Varnavṛitti, the subject being maxims of a moral type ;

(b) Eight slabs of the latter group of Chanda, the Mātrāvṛitti, which are seemingly more alive than the Varnavṛitti owing no doubt to the lesser necessity of trying to provide short syllables for the metres, importance being more attached to the morae.

In the prologue of these verses it was stated that Prince Paramanujit composed them by royal command in C. S. 1204 (1842). The 58 stanzas were adopted from the Pali treatise named Vrittodaya<sup>1</sup> (more commonly called Vuttodaya) for the first time in Siamese. Again as an epilogue there were verses summing up the contents in this way : “The above 50 stanzas of Varnavṛitti and 8 of the Mātrāvṛitti making up 58 stanzas have been adopted by myself alone. Their contents treated of the seven kinds of wives ; the six causes of downfalls ; the results each, of drinking, of going out at night, of attending entertainments, of gambling, of associating with

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1. Composed in the 12th. century by Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon.

the six kinds of persons of evil disposition, of the six forms of laziness; of the 4 categories each of good and bad friends; of the 4 evil dispositions (*uggati*); of the 5 catastrophes; the paths of action; of the 38 good actions; of the injunctions to an official; of the recommendations for the monarch's behaviour. The knowledge of all these moral verses should be productive of good, should help to ward off all evil and suffering, should enhance one in prosperity, health and honour. They have been inscribed on half the cloister pillars by command of His Majesty, who wishes thereby to lead his people along the path of Knowledge.....".

We now come to another category of poetry, the Klon, in the forms of the Phleng Yao Kolabot and Kola Aksorn.<sup>1</sup> These have not been translated nor adopted from anywhere. They formed a collection of examples of Siamese Klon verses on a variety of subjects composed by a group of poets including the King himself. In the prologue to the collection, it was stated that they had been composed by a number of poets at the instigation of His Majesty who wished that future generations should be able to obtain easy access to that "branch of knowledge which was in olden times considered as the knowledge essential to a gentleman but has now become rare among people who have turned to bad ways". It was further explained that these verses had been written as examples of rhetoric and consequently contained much of a worldly nature. The King was well aware that erotic poetry was the opposite of the spiritual but with the above excuse he wished that the collection should be tolerated in some such manner as the dedication of music and song. The contents of these verses are mainly erotic, as the name "Phleng Yao" suggests; the main interest lying in a kind of verbal extravaganza, in which an intricate play on tonal accents is a feature. It is consequently somewhat difficult to give details in a way which would be sufficient-

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1. Published by the Royal Institute, with an introduction by Prince Damrong giving an historical survey of Siamese Poetry, under the title of "เพลงยาว กลบท และ กลอักษร สมเด็จพระมาตุจฉาเจ้าไปรตให้พิมพ์ในมณเฑียรพระชันสาครบ ๖๐ ปีบริบูรณ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕"

ly interesting to any one but a native Siamese, thus:

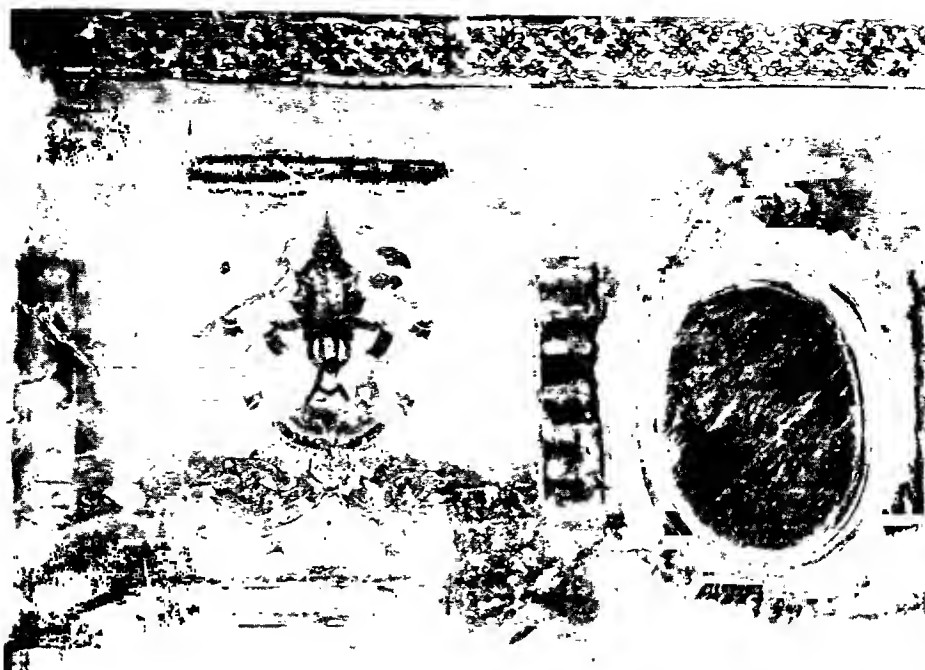
	อมรแมนแมนแมนเจ้างามโฉม
<u>ชลดอดดอโลกให้โคกโครม</u>	<u>แต่เงาเงาเงาโถมถัดแด</u>
ดงกระต่ายห้อยห้อยห้อยแห่งหนาย	ชรมายมายมายเมียงจะเคียงแซ
<u>วชนน นมอาลัยแด</u>	กระต่ายแต่ซบเซาเข้าเข้าคั่น
	กตบท “ศรีประดับดาว”

หัตถ์นายชาญภูเบศร์ แต่ง

In treating of inscriptions of the cloisters mention should be made of the paintings, now vanished, illustrating an important branch of Siamese fable literature. These were arranged in collections (called Pakaramam). The two collections painted here deserve mention, although no explanatory inscriptions seem ever to have existed. As in most of those classical and modern languages of Asia which have been influenced by Indian Aryan civilisation, these collections form a distinct class in Siamese Literature. Some collections can be traced through Lao Literature to have originated from the Pañcatantra, whilst others are obviously later translations into Siamese from various sources. The collection of the fables of Nonduk (corresponding to Pañcatantra I.) here represented was no doubt the story of Nonduk the bull<sup>1</sup> as related by Tantrai, the daughter of a prime minister, who pacified her sovereign, like Scheherazade, by telling him stories on consecutive nights and thereby saved her family from imminent death. According to M. Finot, (*Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO, XVII, 5), the story of Tantrai is introductory of four separate collections of fables of which the collection of Nonduk is the first. The story of Tantrai and at least the collection of the fables of Nonduk also exist in Javanese literature.<sup>2</sup> The Siamese version of Tantrai including Nonduk has also been translated

1. นนทุยกุณัม พิมพ์ในกนกพันธ์นักษัตรอักษร พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๔

2. E. Cosquin, *Le Prologue-cadre des Mille et une nuits*, Paris 1909, p. 32.



A personified epidemic with prescriptions for its cure.



Anatomical Charts





into French by Professor Lorgeou (*Les Entretiens de Nang Tantrai*, Paris, 1924). The other work, the collection of tales of the Pisāca,<sup>1</sup> was also of Indian origin, although its venne has not yet been traced.

An important section of the precincts on account of its encyclopaedic inscriptions is the enclosure of the four great chetiya. Rama I. brought down what remained of the famous standing Buddha in the main chapel of Wat Phra Sri Sarbej in the palace of Ayudhya. The statue could probably not be repaired having been burnt and stripped of gold metal by the enemy during the sack of the old capital. It was consequently not restored but buried or rather built over, thus giving rise to a chetiya 41 metres in height behind the main chapel. The chetiya was repaired by Rama III. and decorated in green. The latter monarch built two more on either side of it, a white one dedicated to His royal father King Rama II. and a yellow one for himself. King Mongkut built a blue chetiya behind; and, as if seeing the futility of the custom, released His successors from the obligation by laying down a ruling that in future when no more space would be available let no sovereign feel obliged to build more chetiyas of this nature for himself, because it should be understood that the first four kings knew one another personally and would naturally wish to have their monuments in one and the same place.<sup>2</sup> Now these chetiyas are surrounded by an enclosure containing several pavilions in which are placed many more encyclopaedic inscriptions. Taking them altogether we have the following :—

(a) Inscriptions explaining paintings depicting 24 of the Birth Stories of the Buddha. The stories are continued and completed in the outer pavilions next to the exterior walls;

(b) Inscriptions describing medical matters, forming the medical library of this “University in stone”. Among subjects treated are: treatment of small-pox, massage, pharmacopæia, pediatrics, child-birth, etc. It was mentioned that this section was written by a court physician by name of Phya Bamroe Rājabaedya :

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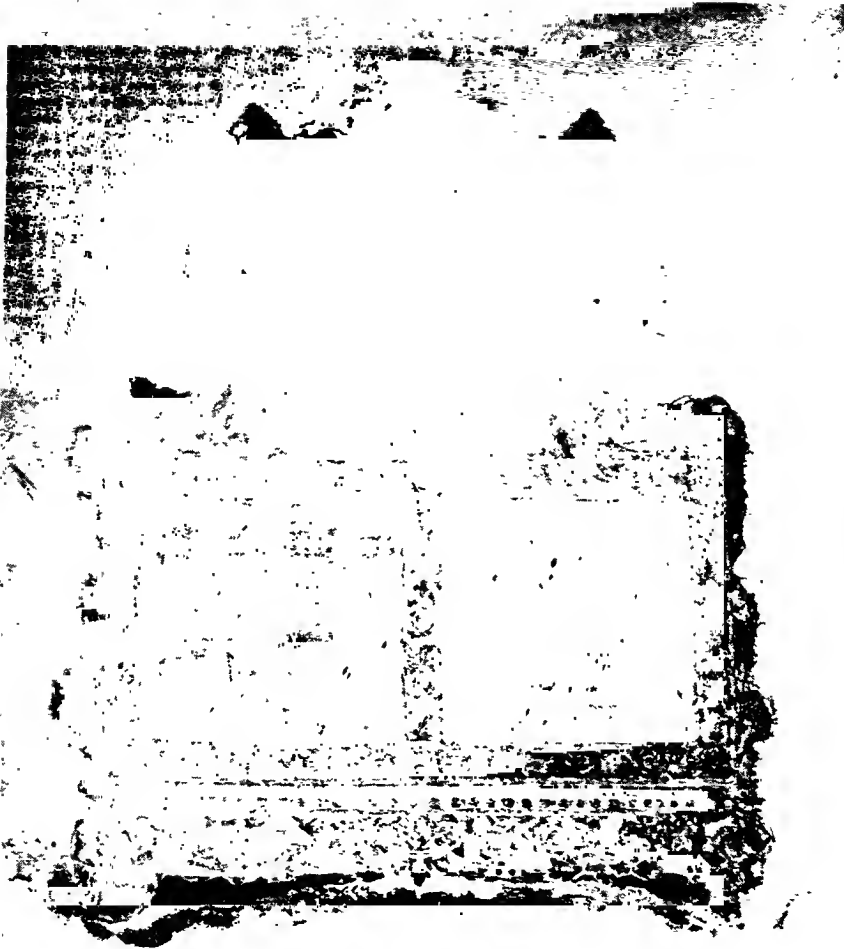
1. บัณฑิตปกรณ์ พิมพ์ใน มหกรรมมอเจ้าลัคนาสหส พ ศ ๒๔๖๗

2. Phra Rajavicharn, (King Chulalongkorn's critical pamphlet on the memoirs of a Princess), p. 242.

(c) Regulation strength of the army in grand reviews, as on the occasion of Kathin presentations, in which the four divisions of an army, handed down from Ancient India, were still adhered to. It is interesting also to find mentioned the regiments of Cham and Japanese mercenaries armed respectively with kris or Malay daggers and axes! The pictures of these two regiments happen to remain in good preservation. Students of Siamese literature will find here identical names of royal "War horses and elephants" as in the epic of Taleng Phai from the pen also of Prince Paramanujit. Among animals drawing war chariots and conveyances of the commissariat are oxen, buffaloes, donkeys and even camels;

(d) Contemporary moralist literature was represented by the well known and now popular *Krishnā Son Nong*, as well as *Ashta Bānor*, *Bāli Son Nong*, and *Subhasit Phra Ruang*. The first mentioned, from the pen again of Prince Paramanujit, is esteemed to be one of the most eloquent pieces of Chanda poetry in Siam and is prescribed for Government schools down to the present day. The subject treated of is the conduct of a good wife, being the advice given to her sister by *Krishnā*, better known as *Draupadi* the bride of the *Pāṇdavas* of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>1</sup> The authorship of the other three is not known, but like the first they were in the nature also of moral maxims in verse. In the *Ashta Bānor* a royal personage, who had endeared himself to eight monkeys of the forest by daily feeding them, is given much advice of a moral nature in gratitude for his generosity by those animals who turn out to be celestial beings in disguise. The poem called *Bāli Son Nong* details the dying instructions of the Monkey-king to his brother *Sugriva* as to the proper behaviour of one serving a Sovereign in anticipation of the

1. Since writing the above I have come across a note by the late King Chulalongkorn written in 1889, identifying the episode as a part of the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahabharata*, where the very same story is told in almost identical terms. (วินิจฉันท์เมื่อภฤชณาสอนน้อง พิมพ์เมื่อ พ.ศ. ๒๔๓๙).



Inscriptions of Moralistic Literature in  
precincts of the Chetiya.





Cham Mercenaries of the Army.



Japanese Mercenaries of the Army.

latter's service under Rama. The last poem as its name indicates is supposed to have been a collection of sayings of that figure of romance, the once mythical sovereign of Sukhodaya, but now identified with the historical Sri Indrāditya ;

(e) Two inscriptions bear witness to the consideration given to the once all-important subject of Astrology and omens. One was written in verse without any statement as to authorship, while the other gives Pali formulae for warding off evils.

Mention has already been made of the pavilions next to the outer walls, where were painted the Birth-Stories of the Buddha continued from the pavilions in the enclosure of the great chetiyas. Besides the Birth-Stories, however, there are mingled figures and inscriptions of interest. Instead of mural decorations in paint, here are set up figures of rishis in what were deemed to be attitudes of physical self-culture with explanatory verses and charts written on the wall behind.<sup>1</sup> Each of the sixteen pavilions had also two stone figures representing various Nationalities, among whom we find the Singhalese, Siamese, Karen, African, Dutch, Italian, French, Japanese, Arab, Turk, Pathan, Russian, Tartar, Shan, Burmese, Hindu, Malay, Cham, Lao, Korean, Annamite, Chinese, Cambodian, Liu Kiu. Notable absentees were the English, American, Portuguese and German. In the latter case of course this was before 1870. The explanatory verses for both the rishis and the nationalities were by different authors of the period. A few specimens of the inscriptions of the latter class of figures, of which only two remain, may be interesting.

*The Siamese* (by Prince Paramanujt)

"The figure of a Siamese, handsome as if shaped by Heaven dwelling in the prosperous and glorious city of Ayudhya....."

"He wears a coat of ravishing material, a painted panung....."

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1. It would seem from Crawford's description that instead of the stone figures, these illustrations of physical culture were then painted on the walls. The figures must then be innovations of the second restoration.



The parts left out are nothing more than complimentary epithets.

*The Dotchi*, i. e. Dutch (by the Rev. Phra Nānapariyati)

"The farang figure here represents a sea-faring nationality, strong and unshakable in their faith of Jesus Christ, who they believed created the World.

"In semblance like the English, wearing trousers, coat and hat, inhabiting a country to the south called Vilanda, they are called Dotchi."

The information above though rather inaccurate is yet clear, excepting the meaning of the "country to the south called Vilanda". Perhaps the author meant south of the English whom he had just mentioned, or perhaps he was thinking of the Dutch colonials nearer Siam. Vilanda or Blanda might have been assimilated from "Flanders". In more modern times Hollanda is also used, but Dotchi has never been met with elsewhere. It is also interesting to note that the English, whose figure is not among the thirty-two set up, was nevertheless well-known as evidenced by this and other similar inscriptions.

*The Français* (by the Rev. Phra Muninayok)

"The Français in a black tunic with gold epaulettes and gilded buttons on the breeches (?), a watch chain dangling from his pocket.

"His country is on a par with (that of) the English, and possesses high mountains. It is guarded on the borders by Sipāys bearing rifles as protection for the populace".

Apparently Siam was well acquainted with French officialdom. The term Sipāy is more generally known by its Anglo-Indian orthography of Sepoy, although the word came originally from the Persian "Sipāhi" which would sound nearer to the Siamese pronunciation.

*The Japanese* (by Prince Dej Adisorn)

"The attractive figure here demands your stop and admiration, being a standing figure of a Japanese. On his head are two tufts of bundled hair, and he wears a multi-coloured gown.

“ His habitat is on the island of Nippon among hills; he is skilled in all crafts, his sword is beautifully gleaming, his trade among others is in teapots and pinto ”.

The foreigner's mistaken idea of the multi-coloured kimono of a Japanese is evident here also. The origin of the Siamese “ pinto ” is here indicated and its identification with the “ bento ” is obvious.

*The Rouch Pitasbag* (by the Rev. Phra Nānapariyati)

“ The Rouch Pitasbag here lives in the West. His country contains a big population, so have I heard. In the wet months there are hailstorms and extremely cold rainstorms.

“ The country folk there wear coats made of sheepskin, and sleep by the fire. Some of them kill goats to make coats of their skin which are overbearingly malodorous ”.

Another nationality was also given as the “ Rouch living near Chinese territory ” which has been presumed to refer to the Russian Tartar.

Behind the enclosure of the great chetiyas again, is another enclosure of the Library with similar pavilions containing more inscriptions. Within the Library itself was depicted the story of the nine Buddhist councils for the revision of the Master's teachings, with explanatory inscriptions. No texts of these was published by the Royal Institute, but the history of these councils is well known to students of Siamese Buddhism. It can be found fully reiterated in Prince Damrong's edition of Chao Phya Dibakarawongs' History of the First Reign, treating of the ninth council held under the patronage of King Rama I. of the Chakri dynasty in 1788, sixty years before its inclusion in this encyclopaedia in stone. The story of these councils is an interesting indication of the way by which Buddhism came to this country. The first three councils are well known in every school of Buddhism, having taken place in India. The council of Kanishka, however, is not mentioned, the cleavage of Mahayana doctrine not being taken into account. In its stead we have the council in Ceylon of Mahinda, some 20 years after the third Council of Asoka, and another one, the fifth, some 200 years after, also in Ceylon. Then over 500 years afterwards the work of retranslating into Pali

from Singhalese of the Canons by Buddhaghosha is reckoned as the sixth council. The seventh council in 1044 of the Christian era again took place in Ceylon. The eighth brings us over to Chiangmai and is dated 1477, taking place under the patronage of King Tilaka or Lok, the famous adversary of the Siamese King Phra Parama Trailokanath (1448-1488). The text tells us that Buddhism was brought to Burma from Ceylon by King Anurudh of Pagan and from there spread to neighbouring countries. Other councils in Ceylon and Burma not in this chronological sequence were not treated of.

The pavilions were painted with representations of the earlier episodes of the Ramakirti leading up presumably to the coming of age of Rama, though most of the inscriptions have been lost. Additional spaces were decorated differently in each pavilion and there were the Incarnations of Vishnu, the wives of women, the story of the Mon woman's divine rice, the story of the Songkrant, and the story called Sibsong Liem (the Duodecagon). Unfortunately one of the pavilions was pulled down to make room for the enlargement of the enclosure of the great chetiyas due to the erection of the blue chetiya by King Mongkut, and thus part of the episodes of the Ramakirti as well as the Incarnations of Vishnu have been lost. Another pavilion fell under the weight of the Library dome which crumbled down, and caused the loss to us of another section of the episodes and also the "wives of women". What remains is incomplete. It should be noted, however, that so far as we can judge from their fragmentary remains the episodes from the Ramakirti, follow the well known Ramakirti of King Rama I. in all respects. The Sibsong Liem survives in a written form elsewhere and has been published by the Royal Institute.<sup>1</sup> Prince Damrong, in a preface to the latter, was of opinion that the work belonged to the later Ayudhya period while the story being Persian in setting must have been translated from some esteemed piece of Persian Literature brought over by the

1. "นิทานอิหร่านชาดกรรม ๑๒ เรื่อง ที่เรียกกันมาว่า เรื่อง ๑๒ เหลี่ยม" พิมพ์ในมณฑลพหุบาลผู้ทรงบัญชากรมศิลปากร พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๕

diplomatic missions from that country in the time of King Narai. The story relates how Mamun of Baghdad (identified there with Mahmud of the Ghaznavid dynasty reigning about the end of the 10th. century A. D., although it might have also been Mamun the son of Harun Al Raschid, which is in my opinion more likely) went to the tomb at Ctesiphon of the great Nushirwan of the Sassanid dynasty and found the duodecagonal mausoleum, on each of the twelve sides of which were inscribed the tables which form the subject of this work. Some of the painting remains. It is interesting to note that the dress and *mise-en-scène* are Siamese and not Persian.

The inscriptions concerning the Mon woman's divine rice are found on six slabs and are not exactly clear in point of their *raison d'être* in the "encyclopaedia". The story labelled "หรือธำมัญญ์เจ้าทิพย์" is about two daughters of a certain Brahman in the mythical era of one of the Buddhas preceding Gautama the present Buddha. These girls accidentally learned and practiced the art of boiling rice for divine sacrifice every Wednesday and thereby acquired untold wealth for their father. The father latterly deserted his daughters at the instigation of a mother-in-law; and the girls though left to themselves in the forest set up their own home and prospered with the help of their sacrificial rice, until the elder became consort to the King of Benares. Neglect of the sacrifices while at court soon reduced her to banishment and poverty, but she was finally re-installed through the aid again of her sacrificial rice. It is not known whether the story should end with the sixth slab as related here or whether there were more which are missing. There seems, however, to be very little said in connection with the nationality of the heroine, and one has to presume that the Mon woman referred to in the title corresponds to the elder daughter of the Brahman although nowhere else have we been told that the Mon race dated back so far. Why the Mon element should come in at all is a mystery altogether. King Chulalongkorn explained in his treatise dealing with Royal Ceremonies<sup>1</sup>

1. พระราชพิธีของพระราชาธิบดีสิบสองเดือน พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๓ King Chulalongkorn's "Court Ceremonies", Siamese, published B. E. 2463 (1920). p. 331.

that Rama III. was wont to have regular sermons in the palace, and the subject of the sermons were all included in these inscriptions. When it came to the turn of some minor priests many of whom were Mon, the subject became more trifling until the word "Mon" came almost to be identified with trash. The juxtaposition of this inscription to the next one to be described would perhaps suggest in an indirect way how the Mon element had come in.

The inscriptions about the Songkrant are not complete. The first slab acknowledges its source to have come from Pali writings in the country of the Mons. The narrative again goes back to the mythical ages to explain the origin of the Songkrant or new year festival. In those days the calendar was lunar and the year commenced on the first day of the waxing moon of the fifth month. For purposes of astrological reckoning, however, a solar calendar had to be kept up and according to this the date of the entry of the sun into Aries (April the 13th) was popularly observed under the name of Songkrant (Saṅkranti). Popular tradition had it that on this day a Songkrant angel arose with the dawn in the Eastern seas, and her mount, her attitude, her food were materials for the divination of the people's welfare for the coming year and therefore formed a subject of much speculation. Our inscriptions tell us of the popular story of the Seven Songkrant angels, daughters of Kapila the Brahman, who lost his head in a wager. The head had to be borne aloft: and each new year at the sun's entry into Aries, a daughter took her turn to fly round the World with the father's head. It should be noted that like the last inscription the present one claims a certain connection also with the Mon country and both stories seem to have been in the nature of explaining away the origin of customs. The former perhaps might have been intended to explain the custom of giving rice to ascetics on Wednesdays although nowadays no one seems to practice special charities on that day rather than any other. The latter's purport is of course clearer.

On the outer walls of these pavilions will be found other inscriptions which are not quite complete. They are the well-known Klong Lokaniti, or "Verses of Worldly Wisdom," from the pen of

Prince Dej Adisorn, a younger brother of Rama III., who besides being a poet and a scholar of note, was a statesman of some repute. He was later promoted by King Mongkut to the rank of Krom Somdech, which is reckoned as an equivalent to the modern Somdech Krom Phya. His "Verses of Worldly Wisdom" were in nature similar to the four collections of moral maxims mentioned above. It consisted of 345 stanzas, and was according to its own introduction, taken from old maxims, which seem to indicate a Siamese origin.

Behind the enclosure of the Library were two rockery groups, one containing a small pavilion said to be European in style, and the other a Chinese. Both had mural paintings, but there does not seem to exist any inscription, and therefore, the painting having been lost as in the case of almost everything else in the monastery, we are not in a position to know anything beyond the fact that the European pavilion contained pictures of the thirteen stores (๑๓ ชั้น) and the Chinese one had representations of the famous historical episode of Chinese history, the Three Kingdoms.

Two more buildings in the precincts contained paintings and explanatory inscriptions. One was the Sala Kan Parien, presumably intended to have been a school in older times, though no such purpose has ever been connected with this kind of building in any monastery nowadays. It is true that the Sala Kan Parien up country often serves among others the purpose of a local school, where primary education is given to the children of the village, but this is an entirely new idea and cannot have any connection with the suggestion above. Anyhow when the Sala Kan Parien of this monastery was planned, it could never have been intended to be a school at all. Its mural decoration was on the subject of Hell and the Petas, spirits of the deceased, undergoing their purgatorial period, but unlike the Purgatorio of Dante, the World of Petas seemed to have been much less agreeable. The Peta in Siamese art is usually extremely emaciated, whilst in northern Buddhism he is called the hungry ghost. The inscriptions tell us that in 1838 Prince Kraisaravijit, the superintendent of the whole work of restoration, was commanded by the



the Vihara is full of paintings, and inscriptions, although many of the latter have been lost. As in the main chapel, its paintings remain in a tolerable condition, while in most other buildings very little is discernible. The window panes, besides containing decorative gold painting of a stereotyped character, have also towards their lowest parts paintings of certain stories as yet not wholly identified. Prince Damrong thinks they deal with Folk-lore. Between the windows the scheme of the Uposatha is continued. While in that sanctuary were painted the lives of the forty-one eminent disciples, here we have the lives also of the thirteen eminent women disciples of the Holy order as well as twenty eminent members of the laity of both sexes. Above the windows in the spacious sides of the building were pictures depicting Singhalese history according to the "Mahavansa" from the earliest recorded times down to the famous single combat on elephants between Kings Abhayadutta and Elara, resulting in the former's victory and consequent conquest of Anuradhapura.

In dealing in a general way with the inscriptions of the monastery, mention must also be made of the fact that not by inscriptions and paintings alone was the encyclopaedic nature of the ensemble emphasized, but also by other decorations and embellishments such as architecture and gardening. We have for instance stone from Sukhodaya, Lobpuri and Rajapuri, marble from Nakon Nayok, and sandstone from Jolapuri and Rajapuri: we have specimens of all the then known branches of fine arts and artistic craftsmanship, painting, sculpture in metal, plaster, wood, etc., chiselling, and inlaid works; in supplement of the medical inscriptions it was said that every plant of any medicinal value was to be found there, thus:

“ รบวิด.....	.....
.....	.....
ปลูกพรรณพฤกษายา	เยี่ยวโรค รังษะ
ต่างต่างเหต่าไห้	แวดราย ”

(Prince Paramanujit's narrative)



By the restoration of this monastery, King Rama III. indeed deserved to be given the honour of having been a patron of arts and learning. Like many other Oriental patrons in the same field he surrounded himself with artists, poets and literary men whose names are recorded in the inscription, many of which, such as the names of Prince Paramanujit and Prince Dej Adisorn, have become identified with classic works of literature.

## PREHISTORICAL RESEARCHES IN SIAM

by

FRITZ SARASIN.

While the Prehistory of the French possessions in Indo-China and of the British part of the Malay Peninsula has been carefully investigated, the enormous kingdom of Siam, comprising 518,000 square kilometers, situated between the two above mentioned countries, has, as far as prehistory is concerned, been left practically unknown. Only a certain number of polished neolithic axe-heads, discovered by chance, have been collected: but never has a real scientific search for such objects been made. In 1926 *I. H. N. Evans* (9) has described and pictured five neolithic axe-heads found near Chong in the Siamese part of the Malay Peninsula. Later on in 1931, the same author (12) described five other stone-axes and two large stone-pounders, discovered in a tin-mine of the Surat District. They are again reproduced in a publication of *A. Kerr* and *E. Seidenfaulen* (21). These authors mention that polished axe-heads have been found in the northern, eastern and southern parts of Siam, but never in the great central plain. The absence of such discoveries in Central Siam is certainly due to the fact that the Menam river covers every year during the rainy season the entire plain with mud, exactly like the Nile in lower Egypt.

In the exceedingly rich and beautifully arranged National-Museum of Bangkok, which the city owes to the great wisdom and never failing energy of His Royal Highness *Prince Damrong*, a certain number of neolithic axe-heads are shown. Many of them have been found in the district of Luang Prabang already outside of the confines of Siam; others come from the country around Petjaburi, and quite a number from the Siamese part of the Malay Peninsula. Another collection of neolithic axe-heads is in the possession of *Mr. R. Harmøller* in Bangkok. In the two collections one is rather surprised to find only very few so-called shoulder-axes besides quite a number of axes of ordinary shape. In the Museum for instance there are only three small shoulder-axes which have been found in to-day Siam in the vicinity of Petjaburi. In the southern part of

the Malay Peninsula this form is completely unknown, whereas in Indo-China shoulder-axes have been collected by thousands (H. Mansuy, 26, p. 6). There can be no doubt that the shoulder-axe has been brought to Siam from the North-East.

Prehistorical fragments of Pottery of the province of Surat have been described by *Evans* (13), also rock-paintings of unknown age discovered in eastern Siam by *Kerr* (18). This is about all we know up to date concerning the Prehistory of Siam.

From a paper of *Kerr* and *Seidenfaden* (21, p. 80) I quote the following passage: "So far no palaeolithic implements have been found within the confines of present day Siam. However, as no systematic research work has hitherto been undertaken, there may be lying a rich harvest, only awaiting discovery, especially in the caves which abound in the limestone hills in western and northern Siam."

A geological map of Siam has not yet been made. This fact can easily be understood when one considers that about 70% of the surface of the kingdom is still forest-clad land (*Kerr*, 19, p. 35). From a prehistorical point of view the limestone formation containing caves is naturally of primary interest. The limestone formation furnishes one of the most striking features of Siamese landscape. Their outcrops extend intermittently from the southern border of the kingdom in the Malay Peninsula at least as far north as Chiengrai, forming steep hills or small indented chains of moderate height, rising like islands from the surrounding plain. A typical example of such a limestone hill is figured in an article of *Kerr* (20, p. 14). This limestone is a very hard and often crystallized rock of a light or deep blue colour and of Permo-carboniferous age, to be judged from the few fossils hitherto collected (*Kerr*, 20, *Garrett*, 15). Just as important for the Prehistorian is the abundance of intrusive rocks, Basalt, Rhyolithe, Greenstones and so on contained in the Siamese mountains.

The caves which abound in the limestone hills are not seldom quite beautiful, forming enormous domes adorned with mighty stalactites. Others are only like narrow passages, and still others are

simply shelters with overhanging rocks. The Prehistorian meets in Siam for his research work with the very great difficulty that all the caves promising good results have been transformed into buddhistic sanctuaries. They usually contain only one enormous statue of the great teacher. Others however are richly decorated and contain a number of images and altars for offerings. Many of these sanctuaries have a floor made of stone-slabs or of cement. Quite frequently a brick-wall with a door closes the cave from the outside. Needless to say that in these sanctuaries it is absolutely forbidden to undertake any research work. Other caves serve as dwellings for hermits. If one does not want to hurt the religious feeling of the people, the caves, where a research could be undertaken, are the most unfavorable objects. In French Indo-China, also a buddhistic country, this difficulty apparently does not exist. Miss *Colani*, who made numberless excavations in Tonkin-caves, mentions only two cases when she was forced to abstain from digging on account of the religious feelings of the people being hurt.

My first task was to look for caves where digging was possible. My companion and nephew *Rol. Iselin* and myself went first to Chiengmai in the northern part of the kingdom, distant from Bangkok about 750 km. The city of Chiengmai, situated in the wide and fertile valley of the Meping, lies at an altitude of approximately 300 m. With the great number of its temples and temple ruins it makes the impression of a buddhistic Rome. A cave was mentioned to us in a hill not far from the village of Chom Tong, 58 km to the South of Chiengmai. The cave is approached from the top of the hill. It works straight downward into the mountain. Mighty curtains of stalactites and enormous pillars of stalagmites give to the place a most picturesque appearance, and in the dark background reposes a beautiful bronze statue of Buddha. As the floor of the cave was wet and covered with earth washed down through the opening by heavy rains, digging would have meant a long and difficult undertaking; furthermore the presence of a venerated statue of Buddha made of this place a shrine sacred to the people. However I believe that a careful research would have met

with success, because at the foot of this hill, on the bank of a small river I found a "coup de poing" which most likely had been lost by an old cave-dweller.

From Chiengmai we went to Chiengrai, situated near the boundary of the French district of Luang Prabang. This city lies on the right bank of the Mekok river, a tributary to the Mekong, and is at an altitude of approximately 380 m. In a westerly direction high mountain ranges appear with, in the foreground, isolated limestone hills. One of these hills called Doi Tam Pra, with its famous cave, aroused principally our interest. This dome-shaped and forest-clad hill lies at a distance of 4 to 5 km. to the West of Chiengrai on the left shore of the Mekok. It can be reached either by boat in one hour and a half, or more agreeably by motorcar over a bridge practicable during the dry season. At the base of the hill the limestone-rocks form many caves and rock-shelters. In one of these shelters we made a ditch 2 metres deep without the least success. The yellow soil mixed with fragments of limestone contained not a single trace of human workmanship.

The cave called Tam Pra,—Tam being the Siamese word for cave—consists as a matter of fact of two caves. The principal cave forms a very big, deep and high dome-like room. It communicates



Fig. 1

The double cave Tam Pra.

inside with a second and smaller cave. Both caves have separate openings to the outside-world, about 4 metres above the level of a small pond. The picture, Fig. 1, taken by *R. Iselin*, shows the two openings of that double cave. To the right is the entrance to the principal room, and to the left that to the smaller cave. A wooden bridge and a stair-case of cement make the access to the main cave very easy. In the interior of the big room a wooden temple has been erected, protecting a gigantic image of Buddha. In front of it is an altar with a great number of small images made of stone, bronze, wood or clay. They are all offerings and placed at the feet of the principal statue. Siamese people are frequently visiting the place, praying before the images, lighting small candles and depositing offerings. The smaller cave on the contrary contained no object of worship; there is only a small old temple made of bricks and falling all to pieces. It was obvious that digging in the sanctuary, that is in the main cave, was out of question, but we hoped that an attempt in the smaller cave would not meet with too many great difficulties. We asked therefore the Governor of Chiangrai, His Excellency *Phya Rajades Lamrong*, for the permission to make a search in this part of the cave. He received us very kindly and explained to us he would be interested himself in such an investigation, but unfortunately he was not in a position to give us such a permission without referring first to His Royal Highness Prince *Damrong* in Bangkok. He as Head of the Archaeological Service of Siam was the only one to grant our wish. Prince *Damrong* gave by telegram his consent under the condition that the Governor should go with us. In this manner matters were arranged.

Near the entrance of the cave a longitudinal ditch 2 metres long and 1 m. broad was cut out. The profile was a most simple one. A superficial layer, about 20 cm. deep, was formed by sand mixed with fragments of bricks. Then followed a layer of about 80 cm. consisting of earth coloured gray by ashes. In the upper part of this layer some sherds of plain and cord-marked pottery were found, a little deeper a certain number of crude implements of palaeolithic character, made from Rhyolite and other eruptive rocks, also some

round pebbles having been used as hammer-stones, some lumps of red ochre and some broken bones of mammals. Beneath this gray deposit the earth became yellow, frequently mixed with fragments of limestone, but without any sign of human workmanship. The rocky ground of the cave had been reached at the depth of 1.60 m. A second ditch, perpendicular to the first one, made the following day, gave the same poor results. There can be no doubt that the real place inhabited by prehistoric men is the great cave which we could not touch for reasons mentioned before.

After this first test in the North of Siam we decided to try our luck in the South of the kingdom in the neighbourhood of Rajburi. We had been told that this region was particularly rich in caves. The little town of Rajburi lies at a distance of 115 km. to the South-West of Bangkok. Thanks to arrangements made by the Secretary of the Interior in Bangkok, the Mayor of the place *Phya Ram Rualja Pakli*, put at our disposal a charming little house floating on the fine Meklong River. To the West of Rajburi a great many limestone-hills rise abruptly from the surrounding plain. Our friendly landlord brought us personally in a motorcar to a big cave, called Khao Tam, situated at the foot of a rocky hill about 18 km. in a southwesterly direction from Rajburi. The cave is a highly vaulted room, containing an image of Buddha: it is closed up by a wall with a door, and has its floor covered by a pavement of stones. A priest is taking care of this sanctuary. For prehistorical research this cave may have been most interesting and promising, but being a sanctuary, the question of digging was not even raised. Undoubtedly this cave has been inhabited by prehistoric men, for in a corner of it, where the pavement was missing, we found by digging with the hammer a round pebble of yellow quartzite showing marks of usage.

On the following morning we travelled on horseback, guided by an officer of the Government, in a north-westerly direction to an isolated chain of limestone-hills. In a small valley a cave was shown to us, Tam Rusi, unfortunately also a sanctuary, with stair-case, cement floor, images of Buddha and old inscriptions on the rocks. Further

on in the valley a steep path leads to another cave about 70 m. above the bottom of the valley, Tam Fa To. It is a long and narrow corridor with an image of Buddha in the dark background, only lightened by a small door in the brick-wall which closes the entrance. A little digging outside of the wall procured nothing of interest. A small rock-shelter near by promised better results. This shelter, however, had not been left undisturbed, fragments of bricks being mixed with the superficial layers. Pieces of pottery plain or cord-marked were found until a depth of about 50 cm.; in the deeper layers we found a great deal of lumps of ochre red and yellow, some pieces of limestone showing decidedly palaeolithic forms, a few bones of mammals, some marine-shells and a great number of land-shells (*Cyclophorus*) intact or intentionally broken, but not a single piece of eruptive-rock could be discovered. As a whole a very poor result!—

Much more successful proved to be another enterprise in the vicinity of Lopburi, well known by its ruins in the style of the Khmer. Here also the Government provided us with a swimming bungalow on a branch of the Menam-river. The Governor of the district, His Excellency *Phya Bejrapibal*, kindly informed us that in a limestone-hill near the village of Ban Mee were some caves easy to reach. Ban Mee is the fourth station of the railroad north of Lopburi, at 161 km. north of Bangkok. H. R. H. *Prince Damrong* was again asked by telegraph kindly to give us permission for a research in this country.

About 1 km. South-West of Ban Mee rises an isolated limestone-hill, called Smam Cheng. A great quarry of limestone has been started on the side of this hill. A road practicable for motor-cars leads to the quarry and further on into a small valley with temples and hermitages. The first cave which the district-officer showed us, was again as usual a sanctuary with a floor of stone-slabs. Further on there was another cave falling abruptly into the rock, about 8 metres deep, called Tam Kradam by our guide. Fig. 2 shows the entrance of the grotto taken from the bottom. A hermit had established himself in this cave, building for himself a kind of wooden scaffold. The bottom of the cave was covered with big



planks supported by small pillars of cement rising from the flat bottom of the grotto. Two niches in the background had fortunately been left uncovered, permitting a search.

The soil of this part of the cave to the depth of 1 metre and more was literally filled with numberless shells of *Cyclophorus*, intact or intentionally broken. The use of ochre was clearly shown by the red colouring of some of the stones; but the most welcome discovery was the fact that I found here quite a number of implements of decidedly palaeolithic character made of Rhyolite, Greenstones and other eruptive rocks. Flakes and shapeless pieces of these rocks, without or almost without trace of workmanship, were plentiful in the deposit, bones of mammals very scarce. Like all the implements found in the other places, not a single one showed the slightest trace of polishing. Fragments of pottery were only found on the surface.



Fig. 2  
The entrance of  
Tam Kradam.

We visited still another cave in the same valley, Tam Kang Kao, its steep access being facilitated by 138 steps. The floor of this cave was thickly covered by a layer of excrements of bats, exploited by Guano-seekers. The horrible smell and the bats flying around our heads hindered any serious effort in this place.

The relation of my researches has clearly shown that they can only be considered as an essay to elucidate the Prehistory of Siam. Not a single cave has been explored systematically and in totality. Such work must be done by people residing in the country.

Nevertheless, as my results in the North as well as in the South of the kingdom agree with each other, I dare hope that this accord may be considered as a proof of their correctness. Siam once thoroughly explored will certainly prove to be one of the countries richest in prehistorical remains. I am led to believe that scarcely a single habitable cave will be found which does not contain remains of prehistorical men.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE COLLECTED IMPLEMENTS.

1) Coup de poing from *Chom Tong*, fig. 3 a. and b. This implement is a roughly chipped pebble of Rhyolite of an irregularly pear-shaped form, 12.7 cm long with a greatest breadth of 10.5 and a greatest thickness of 4.5. One of the two faces, a, has been pretty well flattened by several coarse chips, the other side, b, highly vaulted

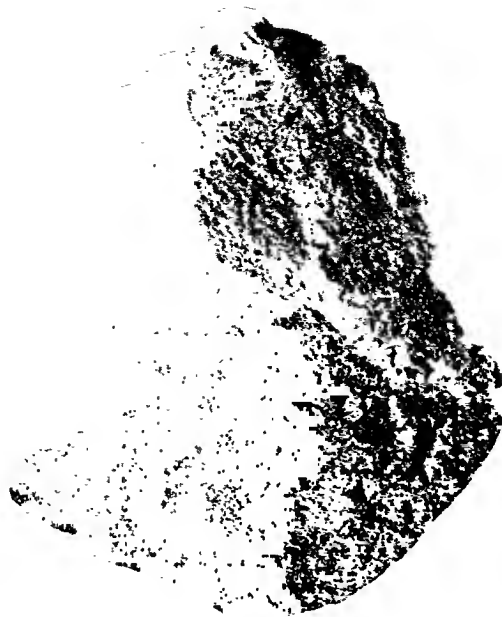


Fig. 3 a



Fig. 3 b

Coup de poing 34 nat. size.

is covered by the natural red crust of the pebble. Towards the point some chips have exposed the green heart of the stone. The edge of the instrument is sharpened all around. This rude implement compares with the clumsy and primitive coups de poing, discovered by Miss *M. Colani* (3, p. 10) in the oldest Hoabinhian culture of Tonkin (example, 3, Pl. I, fig. 17).

2) Finds at *Tam Pra* near Chiengrai.

The Fig. 4. shows an implement made from a light green pebble of fine-grained Diabase. The pebble has been intentionally broken. One of the two faces is, as a result of the fraction, completely flat and forms with the other one, which is vaulted and covered by the natural smooth crust of the pebble, a sharp and cutting edge, showing some small indents, marks of use. On the thick side of the pebble, opposite to the sharp border, a long chip has been removed, giving an excellent hold for the index. Length 10 cm. greatest breadth 5.5, greatest thickness 3. cm. This piece represents the most simple method of the appropriation of a natural pebble to an implement.

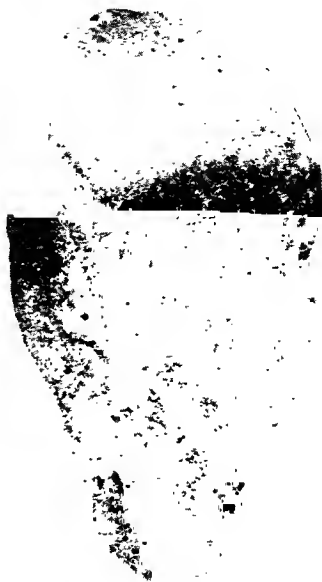


Fig. 4  
Implement made of Diabase  
3/4 nat. size.

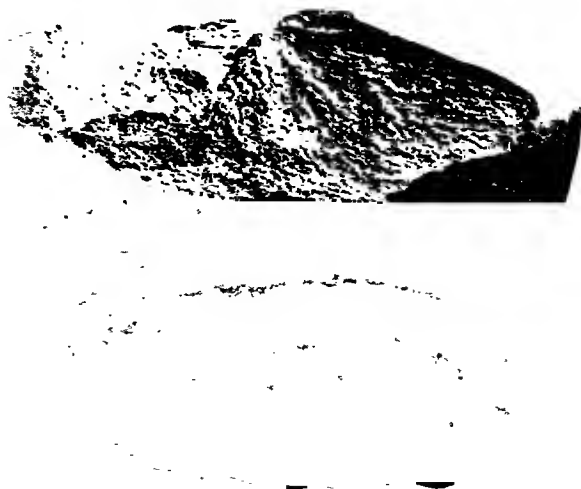


Fig. 5 a  
Instrument made from Slate  
3/4 nat. size.

Similar instruments made from pebbles by removing some coarse chips have been described by *Colani*, out of the archaic Hoa-binhian (Example, 3, Pl. I, fig. 5).

The rude implement of Fig. 5 a and b has been worked out from a big pebble of green Slate. The pebble has been broken so as to form a flat and thin, approximately quadrangular plate. One of the large faces of the plate, a, shows the smooth surface of the pebble. On its superior border a flat chip has been taken off, probably in order to procure a hold for the hand. The other face, b, completely flat, is formed by the fraction of the pebble. Its interior border has been roughly and obliquely chipped to a cutting edge. Length 8.5 cm, greatest breadth 10.5, thickness 1.5 to 1.8 cm. This implement reminds one of the so-called "haches courtes" discovered by *Colani* (6) in the palaeolithic station at Lang Kay, Tonkin.

The Fig. 6 represents a small

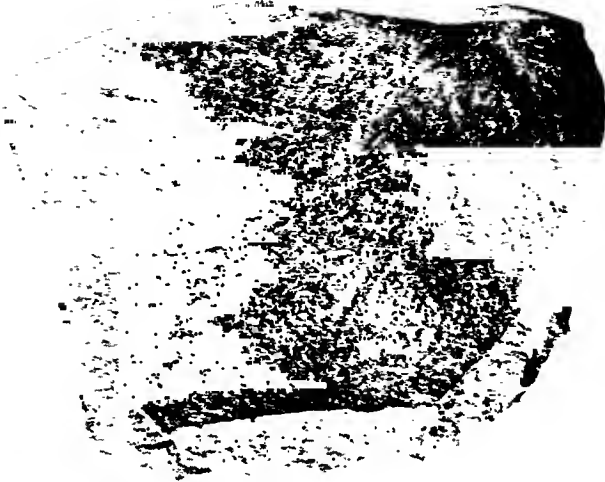


Fig. 5 b  
Instrument made from Slate  
3/4 nat. size.



Fig. 6  
disk of chert 2/3 nat. size.

disk of white chert, simply a piece of a broken round pebble; one of its sides is plane, the other rounded. Some small indents of the border seem to be marks of use. Length 6.5 cm., breadth 5, thickness in the middle 2 cm.

A flat and thin pebble, Fig. 7, has served for grinding ochre as is shown by some red and yellow spots. Length 13.5 cm. greatest breadth 7.5. thickness 1 to 2 cm.



FIG. 7  
Plate for grinding ochre  
2/3 nat. size.

The Point, Fig. 8, made from limestone, seems to me to be of a too regular shape to be considered of a purely natural origin. Probably a stone of



Fig. 8 a



Fig 8 b  
Point of limestone  
2/3 nat. size.

approximately triangular shape has been used for making this implement. The profile forms a triangle with three completely flat sides. On the lower edge of the sharp middle-brim a triangular piece has been cut off, probably for procuring a hold for the fingers or for a handle. Length 8 cm. greatest breadth 4.5, thickness at the base of the brim 2.6 cm. The use of limestone as a material for implements is not surprising, the crystallized limestone being of great hardness.

The deposit contained also a certain number of heavy round pebbles, having served for hammering or beating. Grip-marks cannot be noticed on these stones. The hammer-stone of the Fig. 9, of a yellow Quartzite, has a smooth surface except on the places where hammering had produced a roughened appearance.



Fig. 9  
Hammer-stone of Quartzite  
2.3 nat. size.

Implements made of bones were very scarce. Of an indubitable workmanship is only the small Point of the Fig. 10, 3.7 cm. long. Its base has been cut in the shape of a semi-circle, the rest is very much damaged by humidity.

There are still to be mentioned as contents of the deposit lumps of ochre, a certain number of broken bones of deer and a vertebra of a crocodile. Shells were very scarce. I shall refer later to the fragments of pottery found in the upper part of the layer.



Fig. 10  
Point of bone  
nat. size.

3) Objects from *Tam Krulam* near Lopburi.

Fig. 11 represents a very crude implement made from a block of Rhyolithe. The base is perfectly plain without any trace of workmanship; it is of an oval shape with some angles corresponding to the broad chips taken off from the upper surface of the block. 11.5 cm. long with a maximal breadth of 8 cm. The implement has the shape of a pentagonal pyramid, formed by large lateral chips, leaving between them on the top a long, flat and pentagonal piece of the original surface. The anterior roughly worked point has unfortunately been damaged by the hoe. The greatest thickness of this clumsy tool measures 6.5 cm.



Fig. 11  
Implement of Rhyolithe  
2/3 nat. size.

A similar piece, Fig. 12, also made of Rhyolithe, has a base of a long triangular form, pointed anteriorly. Its shape is also that of a pentagonal pyramid with a pentagonal piece of the original surface left on the top between the lateral chips. The anterior point presents some small chippings. Length 13.3 cm, greatest breadth 7.5, greatest thickness 6 cm.

To the same kind of implements made of Rhyolithe belongs also the piece of Fig. 13 with a flat triangular base and a flat field on the top bordered by big chips. An anterior point with a middle-brim has been worked in an unhandy manner. Length 10.5 cm, greatest breadth 9, thickness 4.5 cm.

I am utterly unable to express a definite opinion about the mode of use of these crude implements. They may have served as scrapers, but more likely as arms or primitive coups de poing.

*Colani* (3) mentions amongst the clumsiest implements of the oldest Hoabinhian so-called Percuteurs or arms for throwing, which may correspond to the ones described by me. They have also the shape of big pyramids with a flat base and large chips on the sides, bordering on the top a piece of the natural surface of the block: their thickness surpasses often 5 cm. (Examples *Colani*, 3, Pl. IV, Fig. 8, VII, Fig. 13, VIII, Fig. 9.)

Allied forms, but more carefully executed, are figured by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* (36) under the designation of Sumatra types, that is to say of implements chipped on one side only and having the original surface of the pebble left on the other one. Particularly the piece of their Fig. 7 on Pl. LXIV shows a marked resemblance to the Siamese implements. It comes from the Gua Kerbau cave in the district of Perak and seems to represent a more highly developed form of the clumsy Siamese tools. The authors (p. 154) consider implements of this kind to belong to the series of coups de poing. In the mesolithic culture of the "Tumbian" of the Congo region rough stone implements of a similar type are also



Fig. 12  
Implement of Rhyolite  
3/4 nat. size.



found (*Menghin*, 32).

A thick pick-like Point is shown in Fig. 14. It is made of Rhyolithe and very much weather-worn, so that the chipping has been rendered indistinct. Length 9.7 cm. breadth and thickness at the base 5 respectively, 3.5 cm. The base is of an irregularly rectangular shape, whilst the point forms a regular triangle, two sides

of which are smooth, the third one rough, the whole lower side of the implement having been left unworked. It is probable that a natural piece of stone of a more or less triangular form has been used to make this implement. Similar points or picks with thick base and triangular point are also found in the Prechellean and Chellean cultures, and also in the Tumbian of the Congo region implements of this type occur. *Colani* describes repeatedly from the archaic Hoabinhian old-fashioned points roughly shaped by some chips out of a natural point-like piece of stone (Example, 3, Pl. IV, Fig. 6, heavy point, 13.5 cm. long).



Fig. 13  
Implement of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.

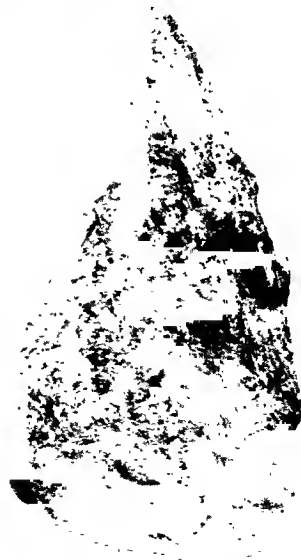


Fig. 14  
Pick or Point of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.

The Fig. 15 represents a Point in the shape of a leaf, made from a flake of Rhyolithe 9.5 cm. long with a greatest breadth of 4.7 and a thickness at the base of 1.8 cm. at the point of 0.2 cm.

The lower side of the implement has been left totally unworked, while from the upper part many chips have been removed. The

left border shows towards



Fig. 15  
Leaf-like Point of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.



Fig. 16  
Points of Rhyolithe 3/4 nat. size.

the point an unhandy chipping, producing, an indented aspect. The point is very sharp and the base finishes also with a point, made by a lateral chip. The implement reminds one of a very rude Mousterian point. *Menghin* (33. p. 215) says that points of the shape of laurel-leaves are characteristic for almost all the cultures with coups de poing of the young Palaeolithic.

In the cave-deposit there were also found several points, being simply sharp-edged flakes of Rhyolithe without any trace of later



Fig. 17  
Point of limestone  
3/4 nat. size.

workmanship. Sometimes some chips have been removed in order to improve the point or to furnish a hold for the hand. Two of these points, 7.5 and 6 cm. long, are represented in Fig. 16; a very crude point made from limestone in Fig. 17.

The Fig.

18 a and b

show a  
kind of  
scraper  
made from  
a block of  
Rhyolithe,  
9.8 cm.

long, 5.5  
broad and  
3.7 thick.

The upper  
side, a, is

roof-  
shaped  
with a

sharp mid-  
dle-brim,



a

Fig. 18

Scraper made of Rhyolithe  
3/4 nat. size.



b

the declivity of the right side having been left unworked and covered by the natural crust of the block, while the left one has undergone chipping. The two lateral borders of the implement are indented by use. The lower surface, b, is simply formed by the fraction of the block, and is clumsily and obliquely worked on one of its borders. Primitive scrapers of varied forms are frequently met with in the Tonkin-caves.

Another implement of the same type. Fig. 19, made also from a block of Rhyolithe, is of a much bigger size, 15.5 cm. long, 9 broad and 5 to 5.5 cm. thick. It has not been quite finished, the lower side presenting great irregularities. The upper side, roof-shaped with a middle-brim has, exactly like the piece in Fig. 18, the right declivity

left unworked and covered by the crust of the block, and the left one roughly chipped.

The little instrument of the Fig. 20, made of a piece of dark limestone, is remarkable for the fact that it has been besmeared on four places with a red colour, probably ochre. It has a length of 5.5 cm. at its base a breadth of 3.3 and a thickness of 1.7 cm. Near the point some fine chippings contrast by their dark colour from the gray and decomposed surface of the implement.

There are still to be



Fig. 19

Scraper made of Rhyolite 3.4 nat. size.



Fig. 20

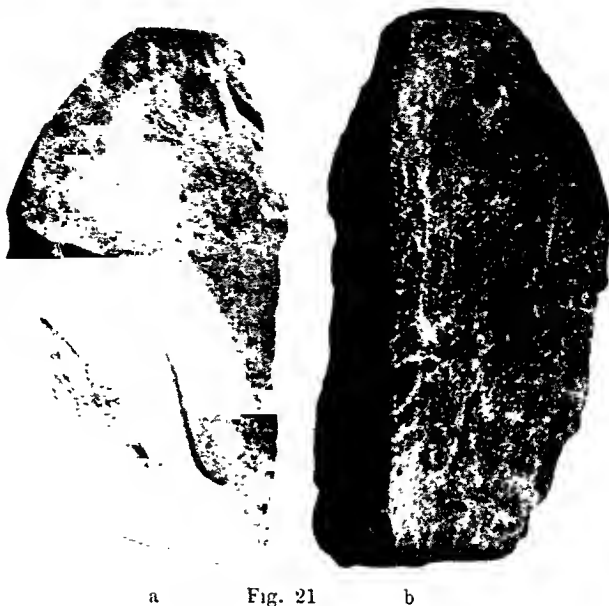
Implement made of limestone,  
3.4 nat. size.

mentioned, as contents of the deposit, many flakes from rocks foreign to the limestone-caves, showing no or almost no traces of workmanship, and further traces of ochre. The chief part of the food of the cave-dwellers consisted undoubtedly of mollusks. The whole deposit was crowded with innumerable shells of terrestrial mollusks (*Cyclophoridae*), most of them intentionally broken. Very rarely shells of a great

Nanina were mixed with the others. As for the bones of mammals, only a piece of the mandible of a young pig has been found. Some fragments of modern pottery were lying on the surface.

4) Objects from the rock-shelter near *Rajburi*.

Samples of rocks foreign to the limestone shelter were completely lacking. It may be that eruptive rocks are rare in this vicinity. Instead of such eruptive rocks limestone has been used for making tools. An implement un-



a      Fig. 21      b  
Knife made of limestone  
3 4 nat. size.

doubtedly executed in limestone is the knife shown in Fig. 21, a and b: it has a length of 9 cm. a breadth of 3.7 to 5 and a greatest thickness of 3 cm. One of the two sides, a is slightly vaulted and shows different marks of chipping; the other one, b, presents a sharp and longitudinal brim. The steep declivity on the left of the brim has probably served as a hold for a finger; the right one, which is broader and slightly concave, finishes with an edge showing marks of use. The two ends of the implement are transversely trunked by chips.

Human workmanship may appear a little doubtful on the thick point or pick of the Fig. 22, consisting of a very much weather-worn piece of limestone. Nevertheless the resemblance with the point made of Rhyolithe and represented in Fig. 14 is striking. The profile of the point is quadrangular, that of the thick base more irre-

gular. Some chips removed from the base seem to give an easier grip of the implement. Length 10.5 cm., breadth and thickness of the base 6 and 4.5 cm. respectively.

A very crude scraper made of limestone corresponds in its shape to the scrapers of Rhyolithe, represented in the Fig. 18 and 19. The deposit contained also many lumps of red and yellow ochre, some broken bones of mammals and an abundance of shells of Cyclophoridae. Marine shells of *Arca* indicate that the sea is not very far off (about 50 km). In the superficial layers fragments of pottery were found.

**Pottery.** A certain number of sherds of pottery of an old aspect, plain or decorated, have been collected in the cave Tam Pra and in the rock-shelter near Rajburi. The material used to make the pottery in one and the same locality is sometimes coarse and mixed with grains, sometimes pure and grainless. *Evans* (14, p. 57), for instance, met with the same state of things in the neolithic station of Nyong in the Malay Peninsula.

In the first place I draw the attention to a fragment of pottery found in the Rajburi-shelter, because its decoration is different from all the others I collected. The surface of this sherd, Fig. 23 a, is divided by elevated horizontal and vertical bars into small sunken squares. Exactly the same pattern has been described by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* (36, Pl. LXX, Fig. 8) from a fragment found in the Gua Kerbau-cave in the Perak district. The two authors are of the opinion that these squares may have been produced by pressing a stamp into the soft clay, and that this pattern may be an imitation of basket-work. This explanation may possibly be the right one, as



Fig. 22

Point of limestone  $\frac{3}{4}$  nat. size.

it is difficult indeed to imagine that a pattern of this kind could have originated by moulding a pot in a basket or other tress-work. On the other hand the fragment, Fig. 23 b, found in Tam Pra, presents beneath a plain and slightly concave border a pattern undoubtedly



Fig. 23

Fragments of Pottery:—

a from Rajburi. b-e from Tam Pra,  
nat. size.

resulting from an impression of tress-work, furrows which by crossing each other include elevated squares. A similar crossing of furrows, though less distinct, can also be observed on the fragment of Fig. 23 c. Samples of this kind of pottery, called by the French "*Poterie au Papier*", by the English "*Cord-marked Pottery*", are frequently represented in the publications concerning the Prehistory of south-eastern Asia.

The fragment Fig. 23 d, shows no crossed lines, but simply a system of more or less fine and paralld bars and furrows. Patterns of this kind are certainly not resulting from an impression of tress-work, but seem to have been executed with a comb or a stiff brush, or simply with stalks of grasses or pointed sticks. It was perhaps with the idea to give to this pattern a certain aspect of basket-work that some double lines irregularly and obliquely crossing the system

of parallel furrows have been supplementarily traced. A pattern of parallel furrows and bars is also to be seen on the sherd of Fig. 23 e.

*Evans* (10, p. 177), is of the opinion that patterns of this kind may have been made by the potter by pressing cords, one next to the other, into the soft clay. Such a proceeding would demand an extraordinary expense of labour and seems to me not probable at all, as the same pattern could be obtained much easier by one of the means mentioned above. Patterns of this kind should therefore not be called cord-marked.

As for the Age of the Pottery, the French investigators of the Indo-Chinese Prehistory are inclined to ascribe pottery only to the young and fully developed neolithic period (see for instance *Mansuy*, 26, p. 16 and 33). When in Tonkin-caves with deposits containing Baconian or Hoabinhian cultures fragments of pottery have been found, their position near the surface has been especially noticed or a disturbance of the layers was supposed. The Prehistorians of the Malay Peninsula are not quite of the same opinion. After the results obtained by *Stein Cullenfels* and *Evans* in the Gua Kerbau-cave (36, p. 158), cord-marked as well as plain Pottery belong already undoubtedly to the palaeo-protoneolithic culture, but only to its last period (young Baconian). Not one fragment of cord-marked ware has been found in the deeper layers, but only some plain fragments of which the authors suppose that they may have slipped down through holes made by burrowing animals.

*Evans* (11, p. 21), says that in the caves of the Malay Peninsula Pottery, much of which is cord-marked, appears definitely associated with the palaeo-protoneolithic culture, as well as with the fully developed neolithic period, whilst in Indo-China Pottery has only been ascribed to this later culture. I think that *Stein-Cullenfels* and *Evans* are right in ascribing Pottery already to the palaeo-protoneolithic period. In this culture, as will be shown later, implements only chipped are found together with pebbles being polished on one of their ends only. This innovation is generally believed to be produced by the contact of palaeolithic men with a neolithic culture. If this view is correct, it seems quite natural that pottery should appear



at the same time as the knowledge of polishing implements.

Cord-marked Pottery is, as *Evans* (13, p. 208) says, not confined to the palaeo-protoneolithic and the neolithic cultures, but is still found at much later dates. Indeed *Fromaget* has observed that still to-day cord-marked ware is made in the Laos district (*Patte*, 35, p. 17).

As for the fragments collected in the superficial layers of the Siamese caves, I believe that they may quite well belong to the palaeo-protoneolithic culture, as no neolithic stone-implements have been found associated with them.

*General Considerations.* The stone-implements discovered in the three Siamese caves and described above, present a purely palaeolithic character. Not the least trace of polishing is to be found on them. They are without exception very coarsely and primitively chipped. Their form is only approximately comparable with the skilfully executed implements of the classic Palaeolithic cultures of Europe. One is even frequently tempted to look for their relation with Prechelllean cultures. By a few coarse chips, perfectly natural stones have been transformed into primitive implements, using as little labour as possible. The "Siamian", as I shall provisionally call it, is a palaeolithic culture of the most primitive nature. It is a culture of hunters and collectors of food without the possession of any domestic animals and without the knowledge of agriculture.

For a comparison of the Siannian let us turn our eyes first of all to Indo-China, where in a great many caves of Tonkinese limestone-massifs, Bac-Son and others, very careful explorations have been undertaken by *H. Mansuy* and Miss *M. Colani*. The most ancient Bacsonian culture of Keo Phay and other caves is described by the two authors (28, p. 41) as follows: "Dans les couches les plus anciennes du Bacsonien, se rencontrent, en juxtaposition, des instruments du style paléolithique primitif, rappelant les pièces caractéristiques du Pleistocène européen, avec des haches de travail rudimentaire, la plupart faites d'un galet non retouché, parfois au contour naturel repris par retouches plus ou moins étendues, toutes ayant reçu le polissage à l'une des extrémités seulement." This culture is

designed as "Néolithique inférieur", by others as "Mésolithique".

In a publication of *Mansuy* of the same year 1925 (26, p. 38), we find the following passage: "L'outillage paléolithique de physiologie chelléo-moustérienne, découvert dans certains dépôts de cavernes du Bac-Son, en association avec un matériel néolithique fruste, fait pressentir en Indochine, l'existence de gisements ne renfermant exclusivement que les produits de l'industrie du Paléolithique des premiers temps."

This prediction was very soon realized. In the year 1926, Miss *Colani* announced the discovery of a pure palaeolithic culture without a juxtaposition of polished implements in the Tonkinese province of Hoa-Binh, and later in the district of Ninh-Binh. Her well and richly illustrated publications give a very clear idea of this archaic Hoabinhian culture (*Colani*, 1-6).

It is characterized by the fact that frequently natural stones, left unworked or slightly modified by a few chips, were used as implements. The big and heavy tools resemble mostly only approximately the forms of the European Palaeolithic. Chipping is restricted to one side of the implements, the other side being left unworked and covered by the natural crust of the pebble. *Colani* (3, p. 56) asserts that the implements of the oldest Hoabinhian belong to the clumsiest ever made by human hands. The material for the implements was furnished, as it is the case in Siam, chiefly by eruptive rocks. Lumps of ochre were frequent in the deposits. Bones of mammals were more or less richly represented in some of the caves, while in others they were wanting. A very important part of the diet of the cave-dwellers consisted of mollusks, chiefly *Melantias*, forming sometimes mighty layers in the deposits. In the Siamese caves *Melantias* were not found, but in abundance a species of *Cyclophorus*. *Cyclophorides* also occur frequently in the Tonkinese caves.

In describing the stone-implements found in the Siamese caves, I have already called attention to the numerous resemblances with those of the archaic Hoabinhian of *Colani*. I am therefore convinced that the Siamian belongs to the same group of palaeo-

lithic cultures.

In the Malay Peninsula the most important exploration ever undertaken is certainly the research in the Gua Kerbau-cave by *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* (36). They both found, almost in the whole deposit of the rock-shelter, stone-implements simply chipped without any trace of polishing, Palaeoliths, as they call them, mixed with others, showing polishing at one of their ends only, Protoneoliths. The culture of Gua Kerbau compares exactly with the Bacsonian of *Mansuy*. This same culture having now been found as well in the South as in the East of today Siam, I am convinced that following research will discover it also in the kingdom itself.

*Evans* (11, p. 21-22) has said in 1930, that the most ancient culture found up to to-day in the Malay States, was the palaeo-protoneolithic, and that a pure Palaeolithic had still to be looked for. But *Evans* himself (7) had published in 1919 an article concerning a digging in a cave near Lenggong, Upper Perak, where in a deposit of bones and shells he had only found clumsy Palaeoliths, without any trace of polishing. He adds in 1922 (8, p. 48), that of all the multiple localities explored by him, the Lenggong-cave only had contained a culture without polished implements. The pure Palaeolithic, corresponding to the Siamian and the oldest Hoabinhian, can therefore be accepted as also existing in the Malay Peninsula.

Neither in Indo-China, nor in Siam or in the Malay Peninsula have traces of the Aurignacian, Solutrean, Magdalenian or Azilian cultures been discovered. The Palaeolithic of this region passes, on the contrary, imperceptibly and without any separating layers to a primitive, and further to a well developed Neolithic culture.

The question has now to be discussed what age may be attributed to the Palaeolithic of south-eastern Asia. All the students of the Prehistory of this region are rightly unanimous in the opinion, that the term "Palaeolithic" should not at all mean a synchronism with the palaeolithic period of Europe, but only a similarity of the implements and the mode of their making. *Stein Callenfels* and *Evans* for instance (36, p.146), express themselves on this question as follows: "We consider that the term Palaeolithic should not be

employed as indicating a period of time, but a culture, in which the people, as far as regards using stone, only knew how to make chipped implements," and *Evans* (11, p.23) says: "Because a stone-impliment, from Malaya or elsewhere, is of the same type as one from Europe, it does not by any means follow, that it is of the same age." *Heine-Geldern* also (16, p.47) accents in his paper on the stone-age of south-eastern Asia, that he employs the term "Palaeolithic" exclusively in the sense of a culture, and by no means in that of a determination of age.

A very high or pleistocene age of the cave-deposits of south-eastern Asia is already rendered very little probable by the fact, that in Australia certain tribes still to-day employ implements of palaeolithic and protoneolithic character. The nature of the cave-deposits also speaks against a very old age. The bones of mammals, which accompany in the Tonkin caves the palaeolithic culture, are, as *Colani* (3, p.69) suggests, hardly older than those of the more superficial layers, which she considers as being those of recent species. About the remnants of animals of the Bacsonian, *Munsuy* (26, p.35) says, that they seem to him to belong to species still existing in the country. Nevertheless it is not to be forgotten that the bones of mammals collected in the Tonkin and Malayan caves, have never been carefully compared by an expert Palaeontologist with those of recent forms. The few bones found by myself in the Siamese caves represent a much too small material as to be of any value in this question.

If, as it seems probable, the animals of the palaeolithic and protoneolithic layers are the same as those living actually in the country, it is of the greatest interest to note, that the races of men have completely changed. This fact proves to me without any doubt a not inconsiderable age of the cave-deposits.

In the layers containing a purely palaeolithic culture, determinable human remains have not yet been discovered, but they have repeatedly been found in the overlying beds containing the oldest Bacsonian, called inferior Neolithic. *Munsuy* and *Colani* (28, p.42) consider as the most ancient human type a race with distinct

Melanesian and also Australian affinities, with strongly elongated skull and several primitive characteristics. They design this race as Proto-Melanesian. To this type belong the skulls of the Lang Cuom-station and the Dong Thuoc-cave (*Mansuy*, 25, p.25). *Huxley* (17, p.265), by examining fragments of skulls, found in a shell-mound of the Malay Peninsula, has already in 1863 noted their relation with the inhabitants of New Guinea and the Australians. It seems therefore certain that a Protomelanesian race has inhabited in the past a great part of the south-eastern Asiatic Continent.

In the cave of Pho-Binh-Gia in Tonkin skulls of Indonesian affinities make their appearance. *Verneau* (37, p.558-559) has accented their relation with certain hill-tribes of Indo-China, as well as with the Battaks, Gayos, Dayaks and so on of the Malayan islands. The Lang-Cuom cave contained, among a majority of Protomelanesian skulls, a small number of others with Indonesian characteristics. In spite of this mixture it is certainly permitted to suppose that the Indonesians represent a race which came later, and probably was already in possession of a neolithic culture. Undoubtedly of much later dates are the types with Mongolian features. To this race belong the actual and highly civilized inhabitants of Indo-China and Siam.

In the Malay Peninsula where human remains have been found in caves, no scientific study has been made so far. Some authors, as *Wray* (39 and 40) and *Evans* (8), are inclined to ascribe the contents of the caves to the ancestors of the Negritos or the Sakais. This supposition seems to me not plausible at all, as it is hardly believable that the Baesonian culture of Gua Kerbau and other Malayan caves should represent the remains of another race than that, which left the quite analogous industry in the caves of Indo-China.

As to the palaeolithic population of Siam, there can hardly be any doubt that it belonged to the Protomelanesian stock. Its culture shows such a clear relation with that of the old Hoabinhians, which certainly can be attributed to this race.

Nowhere in Indo-China, Siam or the Peninsula have remains of the *Homo neanderthalensis* or allied forms ever been discovered.

All the skulls found till now in caves or shell-mounds belong without the slightest doubt to the type of *Homo sapiens*.

Trying to express in numbers the age of the prehistoric cultures of south-eastern Asia is of course an audacious attempt. *Menghin* (31, p.923) has ventured the opinion that the appearance of the oldest Bacsonian (Keo Phay) in Indo-China may have happened between 5000 and 4000 years before Christ. If this statement is correct, the pure Palaeolithic of Indo-China, Siam and the Malay States must precede this date. But such sort of valuations being always of an arbitrary character, I prefer to content myself by saying, that the Palaeolithic of south-eastern Asia is certainly of a post-glacial age and therefore relatively recent.

Many prehistorical problems of south-eastern Asia, and especially of Siam, are awaiting their final solution. My modest researches in the kingdom just mark a beginning, but they show, that by organized scientific research results of the greatest importance could be obtained. If my work should stimulate new investigations, I shall consider my task as accomplished.

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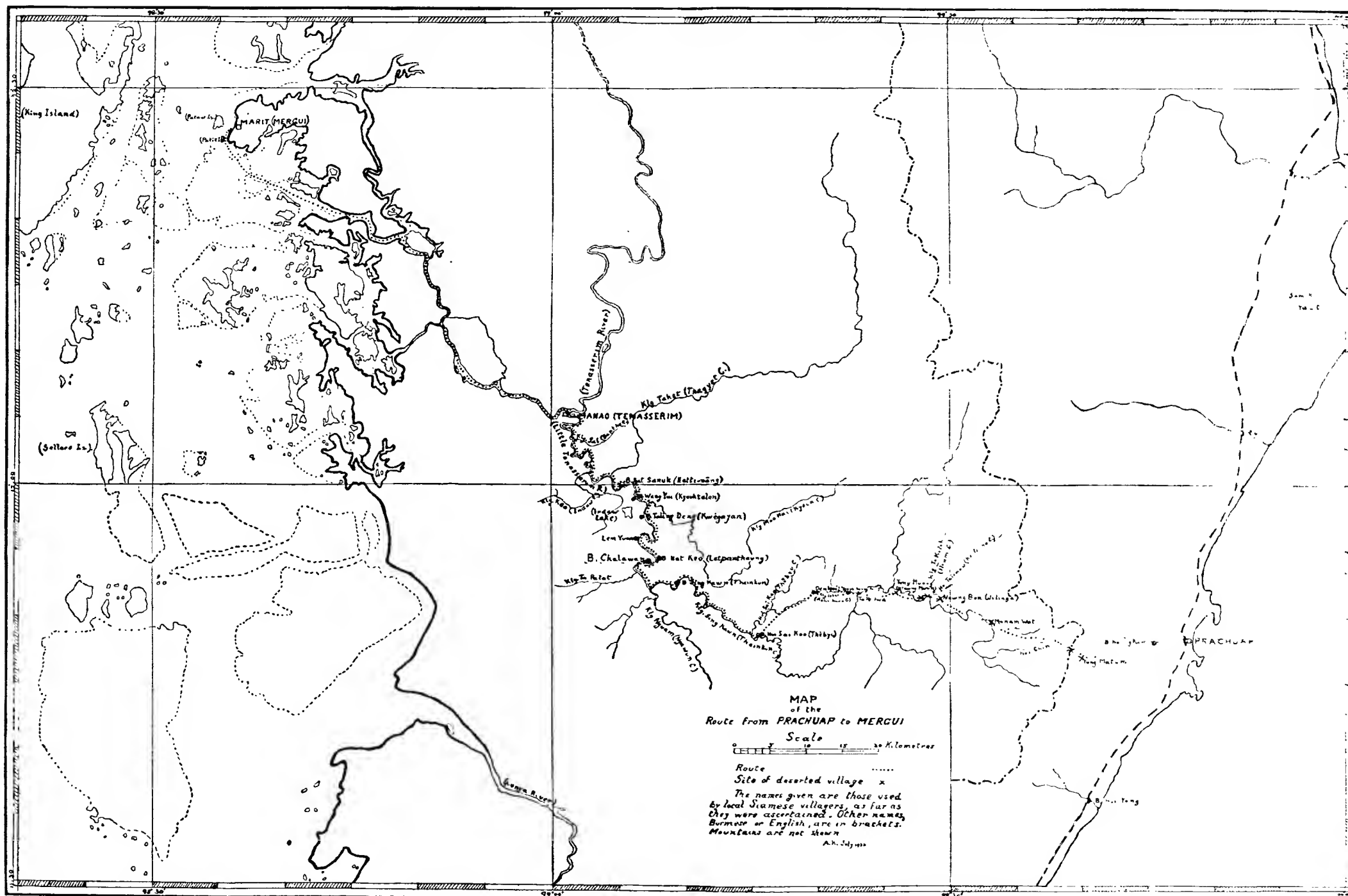
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## NOTES ON A TRIP FROM PRACHUAP (KAW LAK) TO MERGUI.

by

A. KERR.

The writer made the journey from Prachuap to Mergui in May-June 1932. The main object of the trip was to get some idea of the flora on the Burmese side of the boundary, as compared with that on the Siamese side. These notes, however, are chiefly concerned with the present route from Prachuap (Kaw Lak) to Mergui as compared with that used in the seventeenth century.

With regard to the flora, it may be briefly stated that there is a marked change in the vegetation on the Burmese side, noticeable almost at once on crossing the boundary, which is formed by the main watershed, here quite low. The flora of the Burmese side of the boundary, while differing from that of the adjacent Siamese territory, resembles that found a good deal further south in Siam: as, for instance, that of Chumpawn.

On the way down to Prachuap, Mr. E. W. Hutchinson met the writer, and lent him a translation of Mgr. Lambert's account of a journey across the Peninsula from Mergui, made in June and July 1662. It was at Mr. Hutchinson's suggestion that enquiries were made about the old route, and a look-out kept for traces of it.

The maps of the Survey of India indicate the various routes crossing the Burma-Siam boundary, and also show the sites of many deserted villages, some of which are named. On the one-inch-to-the-mile map of the region in question, the position of Jelinga, an important town in the seventeenth century, is indicated. There is, however, a difficulty about this site, which will be referred to later. These maps give only Burmese names for most of the places along the route, though many of these places are known locally only by their Siamese name. For instance: the villages along Klawng Singkawn, which the route follows for nearly its whole length, are wholly Siamese, and Siamese place-names are in current use. It is true that there are some Karen villages in the region, but these are all a little way back from the river. It may be noted here that these Karens are known locally as 'Meo Hai' (Clearing Meos). Siamese

villages also predominate on Klawng Ngnam, as far down as Wang Yai. Below that Burmese villages are mixed with the Siamese.

Such Siamese names as are given in the Survey of India maps are transliterated by one system when on the Siamese side of boundary, and by another when on the Burmese side. This may naturally lead to some confusion, so a list of the Siamese names, with their Burmese equivalents, is given at the end of these notes; while in the attached map, Siamese names, as used locally, are given; with the Burmese names, as shown in the Survey of India maps, in brackets. The expression "as used locally" is added advisedly, for some of these Siamese names are not those usually accepted in classic Siamese. To take an example: Tenasserim is locally known as 'Manao' or 'Muang Manao', not 'Tanao Sri'.

It seems probable that the route followed by the writer is the same as that used in the seventeenth century; excepting only two stretches, one at its eastern end, the other cutting off a bend of Klawng Singkawn. This route is said to be the easiest and quickest way across the peninsula in this region, and it is still in constant use. The track surveyed for the proposed railway across the Peninsula from Mergui to Prachuap closely follows this route for a great part of its length. There are other routes to the north and south, but they are more difficult, chiefly on account of the higher hills that have to be crossed.

Mgr. Lambert mentions Kui as the first town he reached on the plain on the Siamese side, but this is not to be taken as indicating that he crossed the hills due west of that town; where, indeed, there is a path, though a difficult one. It seems fairly certain that he crossed the hills by the same path as the writer. The fact that he went through Menam Wat almost proves this. In the old days it is probable that, immediately after crossing the hills, the main route for Ayuthia turned northwards towards Kui. There would have been no object in going due east to Kaw Lak (Prachuap), unless it was proposed to take boats there, as, apparently, was sometimes done.

The tradition of a cart-road across the boundary still exists among villages on the Siamese side; but no such tradition was found

on the Burmese side: no doubt because all the villages along the old cart-road on that side disappeared long ago.

It is interesting to find that the Siamese villagers on the Burmese side all speak a southern Siamese dialect, like that of the Peninsula from Chumpawn southwards, quite distinct from that of the villagers in the Prachuap region.

Mgr. Lambert describes the country as wild. It is no less wild at the present day; or, perhaps, even wilder, as several of the villages of his time have disappeared. Game is still plentiful: both the one-horned and the two-horned rhinoceros are said to be found in the region. The one-horned species is rare, but one was shot earlier in the year by a party of men from the Burmese side. The most valuable parts of the animal were brought into Prachuap and sold there, yielding, it is reported, about 700 ticals. The two-horned rhinoceros known as 'kasu' (ကုသု), is not so rare. A herd of kating or sladang was seen at Nawng Bua, the supposed site of 'Jelinga'. Wild elephants are plentiful and had left evidence of their visits along a great part of the route, but none were actually seen. The pests on which Mgr. Lambert lays such stress, the leeches, still abound. However, except for the leeches, and sometimes sand-flies, the writer's party experienced no annoyance from the wild life of the district.

Turning now to some of the details of the actual trip: the party reached Prachuap by train, about mid-day on May 27th. Thanks to the kind offices of the Governor and local officials, carriers were waiting at the station, so a start was quickly made. As, however, it was found necessary to purchase rice, and to make some re-arrangements of the loads, only one hour's march was made that day; camp being pitched at the village of Nawng Kam. It should be stated here that the rate of marching given is not a reliable guide to the time in which the trip could be done; for the party proceeded in rather a leisurely fashion, though not leisurely enough to satisfy the writer, who would have liked to have spent much more time in this interesting region.

A cart-road runs from Prachuap to Nawng Kam, and for some

miles beyond it, though there are no villages westward of it on the Siamese side. This road is used by carts going into the forest to fetch timber and fire-wood. These carts also bring out the scented wood known as 'mai hawn' or 'chanchamot' (*Mansonia Gagei*). This tree is not felled. The collectors of the wood depend on finding old, naturally-fallen trees in the forest. The villagers say that trees must lie for five or six years after they have fallen before fragrance develops in the wood.

The cart-road was followed for as long as it lasted, some nine or ten kilometers west of Nawng Kam. Some way beyond the end of the road, a long embankment, now overgrown with forest, was encountered. Legend says that this is the remains of a road built by the Burmese army. The name it goes by is, however, Tanon Bram (the Brahmin's Road).

About three hours' march beyond Ban Nawng Kam, a spot known as Tung Matum (the Field of the Bael Tree) was reached. This is said to be the site of a village, deserted only thirty or forty years ago. As far as can be seen from the path, a mango and a tamarind tree are now the only signs of a former habitation. No remains of fields were seen. Soon after leaving Tung Matum the path started to ascend the low ridge forming the boundary. The ascent, however, is not very steep, and should offer little difficulty to the making of a cart-road. The highest point of the pass probably does not exceed 240 metres (800 feet). Unfortunately the account of Dr. (now Sir Arthur) Keith's trip from Kaw Lak to Mergui was not fresh in the writer's memory, and it was not noticed if the remains of the trenches, mentioned by that author, were still to be seen. At the top of the path was the heap of stones usually found in such situations, offerings to the tutelary deity of the place. No images were observed on this heap, but no very close attention was paid to it.

On the western side of the boundary the slope is very gradual. In the afternoon camp was pitched on that side, by a small stream, known as Hui Chin. The ground covered during the day was really not more than half a day's march. Near Hui Chin the path entered

high evergreen forest, very different from the dry evergreen forest of small trees on the eastern side of the ridge. Leeches, which were absent in the dry evergreen, now began to make their presence felt. No doubt they were brought out by the copious rain which had commenced to fall, and which accompanied the party for the rest of the trip.

Soon after starting on the 29th, bamboo began to appear in the forest. This bamboo, which is known as 'mai pak' (*Oxytenanthera* sp.), got more abundant further on. In places, particularly on rising ground, it formed an almost pure growth, while on low lying ground it was more mixed with large trees. After two and a half hours march from Hui Chin, the place known as Menam Wat was reached. Here, crowning a small hill, are the remains of brick buildings. Part of these remains are evidently the ruins of a Wat, among which is a headless, stone figure of Buddha. The guide stated that he could remember the time when there were three or four such figures here, with their heads still intact.

Close to the ruins grows a palmyra palm, while the trunk of a fallen one was also to be seen nearby. A jack-tree had been here, but was recently burnt down. Whether these trees were actually here when Menam Wat was flourishing, or are the descendants of such trees, is difficult to say without some data as to the age these species may attain.

Legend relates that the ground round the building was for many years kept free of undergrowth by a large elephant which frequented the spot, but disappeared some time ago. It would be interesting to know if the clay figures of elephants noticed, some forty years previously, by Dr. Keith on the heap of stones at the top of the pass, were offerings to this elephant, as seems not unlikely.

Half an hour's march beyond Menam Wat, a fairly large stream, Klawng Ta Prik, was reached. This Klawng is really the main branch of Klawng Singkawn, which receives the name of Ta Prik in this part of its course. Boats can, with difficulty, be got up as far as this.

About four and a half hour's march beyond Menam Wat, a



large open, grassy space, known as Nawng Bua, was reached. This space probably occupies an area of 60 or 70 acres. There is good reason to suppose that it represents a former permanent clearing, most probably occupied by rice-fields. The Survey of India maps identify this spot as the site of 'Jelinga,' no doubt with good reason. The size of the clearing, by far the largest of the clearings along the old route, points to its having been the site of a fairly big place, such as 'Jelinga' seems to have been. The low hills partly bordering the clearing fit in with Mgr. Lambert's description of 'Jelinga' as being in a fertile valley; the adjective 'fertile' implying that it was cultivated. Mgr. Lambert's statement that 'Jelinga' was three days' cart-journey from Menam Wat raises a difficulty. The writer, walking at a moderate pace, only took four and a half hours to cover the distance between Menam Wat and Nawng Bua. The path between the two places runs over nearly level ground. Klawng Ta Prik, however, has to be crossed twice. This may have delayed the carts; particularly as Mgr. Lambert left Jelinga towards the end of July, when the river was probably high. It is also possible that, at that time of the year, marshy or flooded ground may have impeded the carts. Even taking the above considerations into account, it is difficult to see how the carts could have taken three days for this part of the trip, unless they were actually stopped for some time by a river in flood. It is curious that the local people have no knowledge of the name 'Jelinga'; though 'Menam Wat' is preserved. A number of villagers on both sides of the border were asked about 'Jelinga', but none of them had ever heard of it.

On the evening of the 29th camp was pitched on the bank of Hui Talemaw, about half-an-hour's march beyond Nawng Bua. On the morning of the 30th, after walking a little more than half-an-hour, a small, open grassy space was reached. There is little doubt that this space, like other such places, was once the site of permanent cultivation, and, presumably, also of habitations. Dr. Keith in his account states that buffaloes, during the dry season, are driven to these patches of grass for grazing. It is possibly on account of this that these spaces have for so long resisted the invasion of the forest.

Unfortunately, no record was made of the name of this particular spot. About two hour's march further on, another, similar, but somewhat larger space was reached. This is known as Tung Muang. The guide stated that there were the ruins of a wat nearby, but the party did not stop to look for them. About midday a small hill was reached. This was the first hill of any size that had to be crossed since leaving the boundary. Here grew a handsome bamboo: in large clumps of lofty, smooth culms. It is known as 'ram ra' (รำระ), and is probably the same as that called 'kriep' in Peninsula Siam, south of Chumpawn. Rafts for descending the river are usually made of this bamboo.

On the other side of the hill the path descended to Klawng Singkawn, which had to be crossed here. This ford is known as 'Ta Pe' (Raft Crossing). It is so called as, from this point, the descent of the river is often made in bamboo rafts. Numerous difficult rapids have to be negotiated, however, and many rafts have come to grief; particularly when they have been in charge of men insufficiently acquainted with the river.

After crossing at Ta Pe the route ran eastwards, away from the river, which here makes a big bend to the south. A small stream, Klawng Intanin, had now to be followed up, chiefly by wading. Recently fallen trees and bamboos were frequent here, and caused some delay; as a way had to be cut through or round such obstructions. The country was now much more hilly; the hills sloping steeply down to the stream on both sides. That evening, camp was pitched by Klawng Intanin.

The next morning another two hours was spent in following up this stream, again with frequent wading. Then a short ascent was made from the stream to the top of a pass. This pass is known to the Siamese as Den Noi. Its top is marked by a pile of stones. According to local tradition this spot at one time marked the boundary of Siam. On descending from Den Noi, another stream was struck, and followed down.

About here a party of travellers, consisting of seven men and one woman, was met. These were Bangkok people who had been to

Mergui to trade. They were the only people met, crossing from one country to the other. Traders, however, frequently make the trip in dry weather. Cloth is taken, chiefly by Indians, from Siam to Burma; while buffaloes and jungle knives are brought over from Burma.

That evening (May 31st) Ban Hui Sai Kao, a village of about twenty houses, was reached. This was the first village, or indeed habitation of any sort, met with since leaving Ban Nawng Kam. At the present day there are no villages on the Klawng Singkawn above Ban Hui Sai Kao, though there were several in former times. Besides the sites already mentioned, there are said to be remains of brick buildings at a place called Kao Noi, about a day by boat above Ban Hui Sai Kao.

The present position of Ban Hui Sai Kao is a fairly recent one. The village used to be further down the river, at the mouth of Hui Sai Kao. Though it has moved away from that stream, it retains its name. As the inhabitants cultivate practically all their rice in temporary clearings, it is not surprising that they have to change the site of their village now and then.

Below Ban Hui Sai Kao, and for a day's boat journey above it, there are no rapids on the river. Higher up, *i. e.*, beyond a day's journey, there commences a series of difficult rapids, where the bed of the stream is very rocky. There are said to be some thirty of these rapids before Ta Pe is reached. Fairly large boats, such as those described below, can ascend these rapids, if ropes are used to haul them over the worst places. The headman of the village stated that it took seven or eight days to ascend with such a boat from Manao (Tenasserim) to Ban Hui Sai Kao, and another four days to go on to Ta Pe. Boats, however, can be got beyond this, even as far as Klawng Ta Prik. The times taken, of course, vary with the state of the river. If the river is in flood it takes much longer to get up it. At the present day boats occasionally go as far as Ta Prik, to load mai hawm (*Mansonia Gagei*).

The boats referred to above are five-wa boats, *i. e.*, about ten metres long, with a breadth of about one and a half metres. They

usually have a low thatch roof amidships. Like other local river-craft, their basis is a hollowed tree-trunk, the sides being built up. In all probability these boats are very much as they were in Mgr. Lambert's time. The present writer, by camping each night on the bank of the river, or on sandy islets, escaped the great discomfort which Mgr. Lambert and his party must have experienced in sleeping in the boats; and the far greater discomfort which must have fallen to the lot of Dr. Keith, who had neither boat nor tent to protect him from the all too frequent rains, not to mention a ducking from the capsizing of his raft.

The greater part of two days was spent at Ban Hui Sai Kao. Only a single boat was obtainable there, and in this the party left that village on the afternoon of June 2nd. The banks of the river are not thickly populated, and there is some evidence that the population has decreased in recent times. Several villages have been deserted, or become much diminished in size, within the last fifty years or so. For instance the village known as Hat Keo, was, according to the boatmen, once a large village. Now it consists of only three or four houses. No doubt this is the same village referred to by Dr. Keith as Wat Keo, which, he tells us, had 400 inhabitants.

The journey down the river was without noteworthy incident, and Tenasserim was reached in the forenoon of June 5th. This is now quite a small place, little more than a village. It is situated on a peninsula, at the junction of the Big and Little Tenasserim Rivers. The remains of the old wall enclose a space much larger than the present town. Besides the prachedis to be seen on the small hill close to the town, there are the remains of others on the higher hills to the west, but these are now quite hidden by the forest.

On the morning of June 6th the journey was continued in a passenger launch, which reached Mergui about 4 p. m. that afternoon.

As may be inferred from the above account, the trip across the Peninsula from Prachuap to Mergui offers no particular difficulties. If it is undertaken during the rains, however, it may be rather an

uncomfortable one. It is remarkable that, of the few people who have given an account of the trip, two should have made it in the rains: Mgr. Lambert and Dr. Keith. In the dry season the trip should be a pleasant one, with only the discomforts arriving in Tenasserim and Mergui, where one has not the kindly jungle to fall back on.

If the traveller only wishes to go straight across from one point to the other, the trip could be done in six days: provided arrangements for transport are made in advance. Ban Hui Sai Kao can be reached in four, fairly easy, marches from Prachuap. Villagers, travelling light, usually take only three days to do this part of the trip. It would save some time if the carriers waited for the traveller at Ban Nawng Kam; the journey from Prachuap to that village being made by motor-car. Carriers should be warned to take with them provisions for five days, which will give a day's margin for possible delays. No supplies of any sort can be obtained between Ban Nawng Kam and Ban Hui Sai Kao. Boats should be ordered ahead, to be waiting at Ban Hui Sai Kao. These would take the traveller down Klawng Singkawn, to its junction with Klawng Nguam, on the fifth day. At that point a motor-boat should be waiting. It could make the rest of the journey to Mergui in a day. Owing to the shallows, and numerous submerged trees, it is not feasible to take a motor-boat up Klawng Singkawn. There are no difficulties to speak of in the Little Tenasserim River, formed by the junction of Klawng Singkawn and Klawng Nguam.

However, it is to be hoped that no one is going to make the trip simply to see in how short a time it can be done. There is much to interest the biologist or the archaeologist along this route. Here are wide stretches of untouched forest, as well as areas that have been under cultivation, but deserted probably more than a hundred years ago; and yet are still easily distinguishable from the surrounding forest. Such a comparatively easy route between the bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam was, in all probability, used long before the seventeenth century. It may well be, therefore, that a systematic examination of the deserted sites would yield

the archaeologist interesting results.

NOTE.—The map attached to these notes has been compiled from the Survey of India maps. The writer, however, is responsible for most of the Siamese names thereon. These Siamese names, with the equivalent Burmese names, as used in the Survey of Indian maps, are as follows :—

<i>Siamese</i>		<i>Burmese</i>
Chalawan	ชาลวัน	Salawan
Den noi	แดนน้อย	Ngya-taung Pass
Hat Keo	หาดแก้ว	Letpanthaung
Hui Chin	ห้วยจีน	—
Hui Sai Kao	ห้วยทรายขาว	Thebyu C.
Hui Talemaw	ห้วยตะเลหม้อ	Ka-le-mo Chaung
Kaw Sanuk	เกาะสนุก	Hatti-nang
Klawng Intanin	คลองอินทนิล	Kalin-kwan Chaung
Klawng Keo	คลองแก้ว	Indaw C.
Klawng Meo Hai	คลองแมงไห้	Kyein C.
Klawng Nguam ?	คลองงวม ?	Ngawun Chaung
Klawng Sai	คลองไ้	Banthe C.
Klawng Taket	คลองตาเกด	Thagyet C.
Klawng Ta Kilek	คลองท่าเหล็ก	Iliam Chaung
Klawng Ta Palat	คลองตาปลัด	Tabalat Chaung
Klawng Ta Prik	คลองท่าพริก	Htaprik-yo-so
Lem Yuan	แหลมญวน	—
Manao	มะนาว	Tenasserim
Menam Wat	แม่น้ำวัด	Mai-nam-wat

Nawng Bua	หนองบัว	Naung bwa
Singkawn	สิงขอน	Theinkun
Taling Deng	ตลิ่งแดง	Kwēgayan
Ta Pe	ท่าแพ	—
Tung Matum	ทุ่งมะตุม	—
Tung Muang	ทุ่งม่วง	Htawng Mwun
Wang Yai	วังใหญ่	Kyauktalon)

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1. Relation du voyage de MGR de Béríte. Missions étrangères. Paris vol. 121. p. 626. vol. 876 p. 117.
2. *An Account of a Journey across the Malay Peninsula from Koh Lak to Mergui.* By Arthur Keith, M. B., C. M., Journ. Straits Branch R. A. S., No. 24, December 1891.

A. KERR.

**JOURNEY OF MGR. LAMBERT, BISHOP OF BERITUS, FROM  
TENASSERIM TO SIAM IN 1662.**

by

E. HUTCHINSON.

Being extracts translated from "Relation du voyage de Mgr de Béryste" in the Archives of the Missions Etrangères at Paris—Vol. 876, p. 117, and vol 121, p. 626.

The Bishop left Marseilles on 27th Nov. 1660 for China, accompanied by the Priests, James de Bourges and Francis Deydier. The party travelled overland from Alexandretta to Ormuz, and from Surat to Masulipatam. de Bourges kept a diary from which the following account is extracted.

Our ship did not reach Tenasserim before the 16th May 1662. On this day we disembarked and took up our quarters with the Portuguese Jesuit, Mr. John Cardoza, who had the kindness to send out his boat to bring us to the shore.

Next day we were permitted to unship our baggage. The Governor and his Officers subjected it to a very perfunctory examination, and contented themselves with demanding duties on some bone rosaries painted red, which they mistook for coral. The duties are charged at the rate of 8% ad valorem, instead of being estimated, as is done elsewhere.

We found that Fr. Cardoza was in charge of two Churches, pending the arrival of a successor to the second incumbent, who had died in January of that year. After staying two days with him, we took up our abode in the dead Priest's house, and stayed there for the remainder of our visit to Tenasserim.

(There follows an account of their religious occupations).

On the 30th June we set out on our journey to Ayut'ia, as they call the Chief City, which is known to us as Siam. Our transport consisted of three boats. Each boat had a crew of three men, and was protected with a palm-leaf covering. These boats are usually constructed in one piece out of the trunk of a tall tree of good proportions, at least 20 ft. long, hollowed out by fire; bulwarks are then attached to the sides. These boats are well adapted to use



on these swift streams, containing waterfalls and rapids, on which boats composed of more than a single length of timber would soon break up as a result of the rough treatment to which they are subjected.

We paid twelve Crowns (Ecu) for each boat. We did our cooking and slept in the boats on account of the tigers, elephants and other carnivorous beasts which abound in the forest. The forest covers both banks without a break; and it is therefore dangerous to go ashore.

Our progress up-stream was rendered tedious by the swiftness of the current and by the rapids which occurred at intervals. At these points the boatmen are obliged to go down into the river and to make use of their arms in order to lift the boats†. Some pull with ropes, while others propel the boats with long poles, or actually lift them up on their shoulders: so hard is it to stem the force of the current which rushes between the rocks with the strength of a mill-race. It occasioned the loss of the boat in which the Bishop and Fr. Deydier were travelling with the principle part of our baggage.

The boatmen, unable to make headway against the water, allowed the boat to drift: it was carried down stream, and smashed against a huge up-rooted tree lying in mid-current. Happily the Bishop caught on to this tree and had strength to clamber up and bestride it: he there had full time to watch the destruction of the boat and its contents. However, since the tree was a big one, its submerged branches caught up and sustained the major part of the luggage, most of which was salvaged, including the small case which contained our important papers.

The Bishop and the Priest remained for some time astride the tree-trunk, washed on both sides by the swift waters of the River. Providentially a boat was on its way down stream at the time: the Bishop made signs to it, and the boatmen agreed to take the two up to Jalinga, distant only three leagues.....

Our passports were among the things which we failed to retrieve. The Bishop's companion was therefore obliged to retrace

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† i. e. (over the rocks).

his steps to Tenasserim in order to obtain new ones.

Eventually we rejoined forces at Jelinga, an ill-favoured village in a small but pleasant valley. We hired a bamboo house, roofed with leaf-thatch, which sufficed to protect us from the continuous rain.

Here we had leisure to make good the damage suffered by the articles which we had saved from the wreck.

We left Jalinga on the 27th July, and after three days march we reached the village of Menam, where we had to show our Tenasserim passports as well as those issued by the Headman of Jalinga.

On the road we experienced fresh difficulties, even worse than those we had experienced on the river. Our carts afforded us more torture than comfort; in fact, we were nearly always compelled to travel on foot. At its widest part, the body of these vehicles has a span of about three feet, and less at the extremities: into this space we had to pack ourselves. The body of the cart rests on a beam, which forms the axle between the two wheels: and when the unevenness of the road forces the wheels over onto one side, the cart then bumps along on the end of the axle instead of on the tyres. Furthermore, some part or other of the cart is always breaking and delaying the journey: consequently, we much preferred to brave the mud and the swift streams on foot.

Our carts served as a lodging at night. We often camped with water all around us. It was then that the leeches, which abound in that warm, damp soil, did battle with us, attacking us without respite and with such persistence that we were never able to prevent them from sucking our blood. We were also exposed to the wild beasts, which alarmed us in the day-time and which threatened us at night. To keep them off, we built a stockade every night, placing the cattle and baggage in the centre: the carts were drawn up around it in a circle or triangle, surrounded by several lines of prickly entanglements as a protection. We never passed a night without hearing Rhino and particularly Tigers prowling near us. The latter is such a deadly foe of cattle that our draught beasts were always in terror of its approach.

To ward off these beasts, we would let off guns and keep fires burning all night long, each man taking his turn at the watch.

All the same, we managed to sleep in the body of the cart without much more inconvenience than that occasioned by the cramped quarters. Thus by degrees we became accustomed to the fatigues and discomforts inseparable from our calling. Even by day we were not entirely free from anxiety caused by wild beasts, for the Elephants, which abound in Siam and are afraid of nothing, would occasionally cause us alarm.

On leaving Menam village, for the space of half a day, we descended a mountain side, which was so steep that we had to rope up the cart-wheels. Thereafter, we came into a very pleasant country, which seemed like a new world in comparison with the jungle we had just left,—so pure was the air, and so fertile the fields, which extended in an unbroken line of cultivation.....

Six days later we reached Couir (Koui), a small rectangular town, surrounded by a wooden palisade which encloses two hundred houses. Here we were again asked to show our passports, also two days later at Pram (Pran), a town which enjoys some trade by reason of its large river and proximity to the sea.

From Pram we reached Pipili (Petchaburi) in five days, arriving on 13th August..... Pipili is a big city with brick walls .....The following day we embarked in a boat chartered to carry us to Siam. (Ayut'ia).

E. HUTCHINSON.

**TRANSCRIPTION FROM SIAMESE INTO ROMAN CHARACTERS.**

In B. E. 2474 a committee was appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction to draft a uniform system of transcription from Siamese into Roman characters. That committee's report setting forth the system they suggested is published herewith; but it should be noted that the whole scheme is again subject to reconsideration by a new commission. Suggestions will, therefore, be welcomed from any members.

The letter from the Ministry enclosing the committee's report was as follows:—

No. 39/298

Ministry of Public Instruction.

Bangkok.

15th April 1932.

The Honorary Secretary.

The Siam Society.

Sir,

I am instructed by His Highness the Minister to send you, herewith enclosed, a copy of the Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction to draft a uniform system of transcription from Siamese into Roman Characters.

The committee includes Prince Varna Vaidyakara, Mr. Gilmore of the Royal Survey Department, and Monsieur Burnay of the Siam Society, as well as certain officials in this Ministry. His Highness my Minister feels that the system proposed by this Committee is a compromise between the "Scientific" and the "Phonetic" systems. His Royal Highness Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, President of the Royal Institute, is of the opinion that a new system like this should first be put on trial before the general public, in order to invite criticism, suggestion and comments. Only when no reasonable criticism or no suggestion of a better system is forthcoming should it receive official sanction. In this His Highness my Minister concurs. I am sending you a copy of the report in the hope that you will find it possible to publish it either in full or in part, and any expression of opinion upon the matter, either made by yourself or your members, in your journal or direct to this Ministry, will be very helpful.

I am enclosing also a system, which has been agreed upon by the Committee appointed by this Ministry to standardize scientific and technical terms in Siamese. This system is, as you may see in the issue of April 1st. of "Withayaeen", now being used for writing those foreign scientific terms which the Committee decided not to translate but only to transcribe into Siamese. While this system has received the official approval of this Ministry, it does not follow that no further alteration is permissible even if later found desirable.

Yours faithfully,

RAJADA,

Assistant Director-General.

Department of Educational Technique.

### TRANSCRIPTION FROM SIAMESE INTO ROMAN CHARACTERS.

The need has long been felt for some uniform system of transcription from Siamese Characters into Roman. Many systems are now in use, some etymological, others phonetic, but, on the whole, none of them has been found satisfactory. The difficulty has been felt, for instance, in the transcription of place-names on maps. The Ministry of Public Instruction, therefore, invited certain persons who are interested in the matter, to confer with the officials of the Ministry in order to ascertain whether some general system could be evolved.

Their report is as follows:—

The Committee thus formed has worked on the following principles:

1. The system to be agreed upon should be a general constituting a minimum standard, which may be expanded for particular purposes.
2. The system should be based as far as possible on the phonetic principle of "one sound one symbol."
3. The system adopted should be as far as possible in close harmony with the Siamese national system of orthography.
4. In selecting the symbols, account should be taken of available type in printing and typewriting, and also of current practice.

After examining the system of sounds and symbols in the Siamese language, the committee came to the following conclusions:

1. In a general system, tones need not be represented, but allowance should be made for the possibility of representing them.
2. The Siamese vowel symbols are found to represent fairly consistently the actual sounds in the Siamese language; only a few vowels are made to represent not a single sound, but one or two variations of the same sound. Such variations, however, may be neglected in a general system of broad transcription.

It is further found that some symbols traditionally classified as vowels in the Siamese system need not be considered as vowels, viz: ᨧ ᨦ ᨣ ᨡ ᨢ, nor need the final ᨣ and ᨡ be considered as consonants.

The Committee finds that there are two cardinal quantities to the Siamese vowels: short and long. In the broadest transcription, they need not be marked but where greater accuracy becomes necessary, use will be made of the common symbols for length  $\sim$  and  $-$ .

The vowels and vowel combinations as represented by the Siamese symbols can be arranged as follows:—

(a) Vowels :	ດະ ດີ ດຸ ດໍ ດູ ເຂະ ແຂະ ໂຂະ ເຂາະ ເຂຫະ ເຂຍະ ເຂຫຍະ ດົວະ ໄວ ໄອ ວັຍ ເວ ດູຍ	ດາ ດົ ດູ ດໍ ດູ ເຂ ແຂ ໂຂ ດຫ ເຫຫ ເຫຍ ເຫຍ ດົວ ດາຍ ດາວ ດູຍ ໂຫຍ ດຫຍ ເຫຍ ເຫຍຍ
(b) Vowel combinations :	ເຍຍະ ເຍຫຍະ ດົວະ ໄວ ໄອ ວັຍ ເວ ດູຍ	ເຍຍ ເຍຫຍ ເຫຍ ດົວ ດາຍ ດາວ ດູຍ ໂຫຍ ດຫຍ ເຫຍ ເຫຍຍ

อวย

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3. The Siamese consonants can be phonetically classified as follows :

ก

ข ข ค ค ฅ

ง

จ

ฉ ช ฌ

ซ ศ ษ ส

ญ (นำ) ย

ฎ ด ท (บางคำ)

ฏ ต

ฐ ถ ท ฌ ท ฑ

ณ (สระด) ณ น

บ

ป

ผ พ ภ

ฝ ฟ

ม

ร

ล พ





เอ๋อ (ะ)	เอ๋อ	u'a	u'ă	u'ā
อัว (ะ)	อัว	ua	uă	uā
ไอ ไอ	อัย	ai	ăi	āi
เอา	เอาว	ao	ăo	āo
อุย		ui		
	ไอย	oi		
	ออย	oi		
	เอย	o'i		
	เอ็อย	n'ai		
	อวย	uai		
อัว		iu		
เัว	เัวว	eo	ěo	ēo
แัว	แัวว	eo	ěo	ēo
	เียว	iau		

N. B.—u' for อี อี้ has been adopted because it already exists in Annamite Quốc Ngu' type. It is preferred to the German ü, which has a more closed sound; the diacritical mark over a vowel should be avoided, if possible, in order to leave room for accents or tonal mark.

The symbols adopted for the consonants are as follows:

ก	k
ข ฃ ค ฅ จ	kh
ง	ng
จ	č
ฉ ช ฌ	ch

ซ	ท	ศ	ษ	ส	s
ญ	(น้ำ)	ย			y
ฎ	ด	ท	(บางคำ)		d
ฏ	ต				t
ฐ	ถ	ท	ฒ	ท	ท
ณ	(สระกด)	ณ	น		n
บ					b
ป					p
ผ	พ	ภ			ph
ฝ	ฟ				f
ม					m
ร					r
ล	ฬ				l
ว					w
ห	ฮ				h

N.B.—(1) ng for ฦ is preferred to the International Phonetic, because it is more convenient and more commonly known, and it does not lead to any confusion, the letter not being required in any other case in Siamese.

(II) ล (Czech) is used for ฦ in contra-distinction to c in ch for ฦ ฦ ฦ where c represents a different sound.

(III) y for ฦ and ฦ (ญา) is preferred to the International Phonetic j, because it is more conformable to usage in the East.

6. The final letters in Siamese spelling have hitherto constituted the chief stumbling block in any attempt at a phonetic transcription. The Committee finds that these finals, especially in words derived from Pali and Sanskrit, are, as it were, dormant letters representing latent sounds, which may become active when com-

pounded with another word, e.g. มนุษย์ มนุษยชาติ. Besides, these finals possess a semantic function in that they help the reader to differentiate between the meanings of words having the same pronunciation. In the case of place-names, however, the meaning is of no practical importance: what is important is the sound of the names. Therefore, in such cases at any rate, a phonetic transcription seems to be preferable; and as only a general system or minimum standard of transcription is at present being attempted, it seems advisable to adopt the phonetic system. Nor is this inconsistent with the Siamese traditional orthography, for the consonantal finals are divided into 8 matras or groups, with a basic or standard final for each group, viz: (1) แม่กก kok group, with finals ก ข ค จ, and standard final ก :

N. B.—(a) The term “final” refers to the final consonants of each syllable; in the Siamese language even the various syllables of polysyllabic words are considered separate entities.

(b) The final letters **p t k** are pronounced without explosion, and, strictly speaking, according to the International Phonetic system, should be marked with **̥**, as **k̥**, but, in the broad transcription, the mark **̥** can be left out.

(II) កង្កៈ kong group, with final : ng:

(III) แม่กด kot group, with finals ก ฅ ข ฉ ช ฌ ญ  
ค ต ฎ ฐ ถ ฑ ฒ ท ษ, and standard final ต t:

N. B.—*တ* should more properly be *ဒ*, because the final is unvoiced *ခါး* : hence *t* has been adopted.

(IV) แม่กน kon group, with finals ญ ณ น ฦ ฦ ฦ ฦ ฦ ฦ and standard final น n ;

(V) monoid kop group, with finals  $\mathfrak{u} \mathfrak{p} \mathfrak{e} \mathfrak{w} \mathfrak{n} \mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{l}$  and standard final  $\mathfrak{u} \mathfrak{p}$ ;

N. B.—*p* should more properly be *p̣*, because the final is unvoiced *p̥*: hence *p* has been adopted.

(VI) ក្រុម kom group, with final ង m :

(VII) แม่เกย ko'i group and (VIII) แม่เกอว ko'o. The finals, ย and ว had better be represented by vowel symbols, and have already been dealt with as such

The Committee is of opinion that these standard finals can serve as a basis for a broad or general transcription, while narrower or more precise transcriptions of finals may be worked out for semantic or etymological purposes. The Committee is at present concerned with a general system or minimum standard, and, for this purpose, it is in favour of the phonetic system. With the adoption of the standard finals, phonetic requirements are adequately met, while at the same time, the transcription also results in a transliteration; not an absolute transliteration but a basic or standard transliteration, which can be expanded for particular purposes. It is felt that an absolute or etymological transliteration would result in a transcription from Pali or Sanskrit rather than from Siamese. The system now proposed may be called Phonetic transcription from Siamese characters into Roman. It is a compromise between the purely phonetic and purely etymological transcriptions; it is inconsistent with neither; it is conformable to both. It is a practical system and a minimum standard for general purposes.

#### SUMMARY

##### VOWELS

Italian Vowels except that    ɔ = sound of aw in English 'dawn'  
    e = sound of ea in English 'bear'  
    o' = sound of eu in French 'peuple'  
    u' = a sound more open than German ü

If found expedient, vowels may be marked long (—) or short (—)

๐	๑	=a	๑̇	=am	๑๒	=āi	๑๓	=āo
๑	๑̇	=i					๑̇๓	=iu
๑̇	๑̇	=u'						
๑	๑	=u			๑๒	=ui		
๑̇	๑̇	=e					๑๓	=eo
๑̇	๑̇	=e					๑̇๓	=e'o

ໂ ະ	ໂ =o	ໂ ຍ =oi
ເ ງະ	ຫ =o	ຫຍ =oi
ເ ີະ	ເ ີ =o'	ເ ີ ຍ =o'i
ເ າະ	ເ າ =ia	ເ າ ຍ =uia
ເ ັະ	ເ ັ =u'a	ເ ັ ຍ =u'ai
ງະ	ງ =ua	ງຍ =uai
ໃ	ໃ =ai	
ເ ງ	ເ ງ =ao	

## CONSONANTS

## English consonants

Except Initial p t and k are unaspirated as in French.

Final p t and k are unexplosive and unaspirated.

ph=p aspirated—not English ph.

th=t aspirated—not English th.

kh=k aspirated.

ch always as in English 'church'

č=hardened form of ch as the cz in Czechoslovak.

ng as in English 'singer' never as in 'linger'

	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Final</i>
ก	k	k
ข ค ฃ	kh	k
ง	ng	ng
จ	č	t
ฉ ช ฌ	ch	t
ย	y	—
ญ	y	n
ด ฎ ฑ (บางคำ)	d	t

ต ฏ	t	t
ถ ฐ ท ฑ ฒ	th	t
น ณ	n	n
บ	b	p
ป	p	p
ผ พ ภ	ph	p
ฝ ฟ	f	p
ม	m	m
ร	r	n
ล พ	l	n
ว	w	—
ศ ษ ส ฬ ทร	s	t
ห ฮ	h	—
ร ร	—	n

## EXAMPLES.

บ้าน	Ban
อำเภอ	Ampho'
จังหวัด	Čangwat
มณฑล	Monthon
เมือง	Mu'ang
กรุงเทพฯ	Krungthep
อยุธยา	Ayuthaya
จันทบุรี	Čanthaburi
นครศรีธรรมราช	Nakhon Sithamarat

ราชบุรี	Rachaburi
อุดร	Udon
แม่น้ำเจ้าพระยา	Menam Cao Phraya
ภูเขาดอยดาว	Phukhao Soi Dao
ดอยสุเทพ	Doi Suthep
หนองน้ำจืด	Nong Nam Čut
ห้วยทรายเหนือ	Huai Sai Nu'a
เกาะสมุย	Ko Samui
ไทย	Thai
ลาว	Lao
กระเหรี่ยง	Kariang
เงี้ยว	Ngiau
กระรวงวัง	Krasuang Wang
กระรวงการต่างประเทศ	Krasuang Kantangprathet
ศรีอินทราทิตย์	Si Intharathit
รามธิบดี	Ramathibodi
หลวง, ขุน, หมื่น	Luang, Khun, Mu'n
ถนนเจริญกรุง	Thanon Caro'n Krung
ถนนราชดำเนิน	Thanon Rachadamno'n
ถนนเยาวราช	Thanon Yaowarat
วัดพระแก้ว	Wat Phra Keo
วัดเบญจมบพิตร	Wat Benčamabophit
ดุสิตมหาปราสาท	Dusit Mahaprasat
ไพศาลทักษิณ	Phaisan Thaksin



วิธีทับศัพท์

คำเอามาจากภาษาไทยใดก็ให้เขียนตามสำเนียงภาษานั้น

สระ. แต่วแต่สำเนียง

<u>พยางค์</u>	<u>อังกฤษ</u>	<u>ฝรั่งเศส</u>	<u>เยอรมัน</u>	<u>สเปน</u>	<u>อิตาลี</u>	<u>ละติน</u>
b	บ	บ	บ	บ	บ	บ
c (hard)	ค	ก	—	ก	ก	ก
c (soft)	ช	ช	ช	ช	ช	—
ch (hard)	ค	ก	ค	—	ก	ก
ch (soft)	ช	ช	ช	ช	—	—
d	ด	ด	ด	ด	ด	ด
f	ฟ	ฟ	ฟ	ฟ	ฟ	ฟ
g (hard)	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก	ก
g (soft)	จ	จ	ช	ช	จ	—
gh	ก	ก	—	—	ก	—
gl	—	—	—	—	ลย	—
gn (final)	น	ญ	—	—	ญ	—
h (asp.)	ฮ — — ห	—	—	—	—	—
j	จ	จ	ย	ช	—	ย
k	ค	ก	ค	—	—	—
l	ล	ล	ล	ล	ล	ล
ll	ลล	ลล ยย	ลล	ลย	ลล	ลล
m	ม	ม	ม	ม	ม	ม

n	น	น — ง	น	น	น	น
ñ	—	—	—	ญ	—	—
p	พ	ป	พ	ป	ป	ป
ph	ฟ	ฟ	ฟ	—	—	ฟ
q	ค	ก	ค	ก	ก	ก
r	ร	ร	ร	ร	ร	ร
s	ซ.ส.	ซ.ส.	ซ.ส.	ซ.ส.	ซ.ส.	ซ.ส.
sc (soft)	ช	ช	—	ช	ช	—
sch (soft)	—	—	ช	—	—	—
sh	ช	—	—	—	—	—
ss	สซ. สส. ซ	—	—	—	—	—
t	ท	ต	ท	ต	ต	ต
t (soft)	จ.ช.	ช	ช	ช	ช	—
th	ท	ต	ท	—	—	ต
v	ว.ฟ.	ว.ฟ.	ฟ	ว.ฟ.	ว.ฟ.	ว
w	ว	ว	ว	ว	ว	ว
wh	ว. ฮ.	—	—	—	—	—
x	คซ.คส.คช. กซ.กส. กช.คส.	กช.กส.	กช.คส.	กช.	—	กช.กส.
y	ย	ย	ย	ย	ย	ย
z	ซ	ซ	ซ	ซ	ซ	ซ



## REVIEW OF BOOKS.

PROFESSOR DR. WILHELM CREDNER.—*Yunnan Reise des Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yat Sen Universität*, Kanton 1931.

In *Mitteilungen aus der Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yat Sen Universität*, Kanton 1931. (Communications from the Geographical Institute of the Sun Yat Sen University in Canton) Professor Dr. Wilhelm Credner, so well known from his travels and geographical studies in Siam during the years 1927/29 has written a very interesting and instructive account of a journey through Yunnan. The publication is entitled *Yunnan Reise des Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yat Sen Universität* (A journey through Yunnan undertaken by the Geographical Institute of the Sun Yat Sen University) which was made during the summer and autumn of the year 1930. Prof. Credner, being the leader of the expedition, was accompanied by 8 teachers and students from the above mentioned university and the aim of the expedition was to teach the students the practical study of geography in the field.

The expedition left Canton on the 15th June 1930 and went first by sea to Haiphong (in Tongking), from where it proceeded via Hanoi by the famous Yunnan railway to Yunnanfu or Kun Ming, to use the modern name of the capital of the Yunnan province.

From Yunnanfu the expedition set off by foot, its luggage and scientific instruments being carried on pack mules. The first part of the journey took the expedition roughly westwards through hilly country, mainly inhabited by Lolos, a Tibetan people. They represent the aboriginal population of North Eastern Yunnan but are now strongly mixed with Chinese immigrants, who are little by little making them completely Chinese. Talifu, lying near the shores of the great inland lake, called Erh Hai or Tali lake, marked the end of the first stage of the expedition. The plains round the great lake are peopled by the Minchia, who are now to all purposes Chinese in their dress, customs and manners, but who have retained their original language.

From the Tali lake the expedition continued its journey westwards, crossing mighty mountain ranges and the two great rivers

Mekhong and Salwin, till it reached the large town Teng Yü, the westernmost Chinese point d'appui, which lies in a lovely country inhabited by the Payi or Shan people. The Payi are not yet much influenced by Chinese culture and their houses and dress strongly reminded the author of Northern Siam. Here Prof. Credner also made the interesting observation that, while the Chinese settlers in Eastern and Northern Yunnan have occupied the valleys and plains, driving the aboriginal population to the hills, the opposite is the case in the sub-tropical Salwin country where they move to the higher places, leaving the low and hot plains to the acclimatized Shans.

From Teng Yü the expedition went north parallel to the Salwin valley, for some 120 kilometers, through a country inhabited by the Tibeto-Burmese tribe, called the Lissu or Lissaw. The Lissaw are still moving southwards. They have invaded the British Shan States and a few of them are even to be found in the Mu'ang Fang district of the circle of Phayap in Northern Siam.

While travelling among the Lissaw the author became acquainted with the Chinese system of colonization, which mainly consists in inveigling the aborigines into heavy debts to the Chinese capitalists. The latter, by and by, succeed in laying hands on the fields and property of the aborigines until the once gay and free Lissaw become mere tenants completely in the power of their unmerciful creditors who finally reduce them to landless coolies.

The author speaks highly and sympathetically of the Lissaw, whom he describes as an attractive people. The position of woman is very high among them and the young girls often possess fine lithe figures and pretty, almost European faces. He heard the young people of both sexes singing their ancient tribal songs, and was astonished to note the likeness in tune and rhythm to the Slavic popular songs as well as to certain Bengalese songs.

Leaving the Lissaw country and travelling northeastwards the expedition re-crossed first the Salwin and then the Mekhong river reaching Tsiu Tshuan which lies to the north of the Tali lake. From here the track went southeastwards to the banks of the mighty Yangtzekiang and finally back to Yunnanfu.

The original plan to return to Canton through the province of Kwangsi had to be given up because of the civil war going on in that province. The expedition therefore entrained at Yünnanfu and proceeded home via Hanoi and Haiphong and then by sea by the route it had come.

Canton was reached on the 2nd November 1930 after a very successful and instructive journey, rich in results of geographical, geological and ethnological importance.

The thing which, however, most of all will interest readers of the J. S. S. and every patriotic Siamese was the discovery, by the author, near the village of Tai Ho Tsün, 8 kilometers south of Talifu, of the ruins of a large and ancient city. The old city wall could be followed from a point in the west to the east, till it reached the shores of the great inland lake, for fully 1,500 meters. The remains of a fortress, built on a hill inside the town and completely commanding this, like an acropolis, were also seen by the author. Afterwards through a topographical examination compared with what is told in the Chinese *History of Nan Chao* (written about 1550 A. D.), Dr. Credner came to the conclusion that this ruined city could be nothing else than Tai Ho, the so-called new capital of the Nān Chāo empire which was founded by King Pi Lo Ko (728 – 748 A. D.).

The leader of the expedition also found that in the village of Tai Ho Tsun is shown an old stela erected by the famous Thai warrior king, or rather emperor, Ko Lo Fong (748 – 778 A. D.) in memory of his crushing victory over the Chinese army in the year 751.

The writer of this short review has communicated with Prof. Credner, now a Professor Extraordinarius in Geography at the university in München, and asked him to write a detailed account of this discovery of the capital of Nān Chāo, so important for all Thai studies. It may therefore be hoped that an article on this subject from the hand of Prof. Credner will appear in this journal in a not too distant future.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, October 1932.



# ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1932.

The Council of the Siam Society has pleasure in submitting its Report for the past year.

It is not without interest to record that in the early part of the year the Council held its two hundredth meeting. Founded twenty-eight years ago, the average number of Council meetings from 1904 to 1914 per annum was five. Thereafter but four meetings were held in as many years, but from the sixtieth meeting in 1917 and onwards the Council have met regularly. These Council meetings represent a definite maintenance of interest in the work and aims of the Society, and it may be added that there are still serving on the Council original members of the Society.

At different periods during the year the Council bade farewell with regret to four of its members, Dr. R. Asmis, Dr. A. F. G. Kerr, Mr. A. Marcan and Mr. R. S. le May.

Dr. Asmis joined the Society soon after his arrival in Siam, and later was elected to the Council, and was a regular attendant at its deliberations. To his influence the growing membership of his countrymen may, in part, be attributed.

Dr. Kerr has been a member of the Council for nearly twenty years, and after the amalgamation of the Natural History Society with the older Society became leader of the Natural History Section and as such did much valuable work and thereby greatly stimulated the interest in this branch of the Society's activities. As a member of the Council Dr. Kerr has been of great help and his matured opinions, even on matters outside his particular domain, always assisted in the happy solution of difficult problems.

Dr. Kerr has contributed a number of interesting papers to the Society's Journal and his interest in the Society's work is being continued in his retirement for he has become a life member.

Mr. Marcan joined the Council in 1928; and served on the Finance Committee, the Natural History Museum Committee, and the Building Committee.

Both Dr. Kerr and Mr. Marcan have from time to time contributed papers to the Journal or the Natural History Supplement.

Mr. le May, a Vice-President, has been one of the Society's



most active workers in recent years. To him the successful outcome of the Building scheme is largely due as he, as a matter of fact, was the originator of the idea of making a home for the Society, and he was largely responsible for the launching of the appeal for funds.

He had served a term as Hon. Secretary, and was always ready to help in the administrative work of the Society. Furthermore, he has been a frequent contributor to the Journal, has lectured before the Society on several occasions and, finally, has completed the volume on the Coinage of Siam to take a worthy place in the list of the Society's publications. To show its appreciation of his work the Society entertained Mr. le May to a farewell tiffin at the Trocadéro Hotel on November 26th.

The Council sent a letter of congratulation to H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana on his appointment as President of the Royal Institute, and later in the year had the pleasure of welcoming H. S. H. Prince Varnvaidyakarana as a member of their body. Mr. E. J. Godfrey resumed his seat on the Council after a year's absence due to indisposition.

At the annual meeting in 1932 the members present unanimously voted the re-election of the retiring Council *en bloc*. The Council has met regularly throughout the year except in April, and the average attendance has been nine. During the absence on leave of Mr. R. Adey Moore, Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. J. House, Honorary Treasurer, kindly took over his duties.

In the course of the year, fifteen ordinary members were elected, as compared with 15 in 1931; 38 in 1930; and 38 in 1929. and one ordinary member became a life member. There were thirty-one resignations of ordinary members, one member died, one free member resigned, and one ordinary member became a free member. On the 1st January 1933 the membership was as follows:

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Free	Ordinary
20	10	3	4	163

making a total of 200 compared with 218 in 1931, 244 in 1930, and 258 in 1929.

The elections to ordinary membership remains at the same level as for 1931, but it could hardly be expected that the Society

would remain unaffected by the departure permanently of so many members of the foreign colony. Nine of the resignations of 1932 are due to members leaving Siam for good.

The Council record with regret the death of Dr. Louis Schapiro which occurred in February 1932.

#### SOCIETY'S NEW HOME.

In March the Society took formal possession of the plot of land given by Mr. A. E. Nana, situated near the new road to Paknam and the title deeds have been obtained and lodged with the Society's bankers.

Two months later the Council decided to call for tenders for the erection of the building, the plans for which had been prepared by Mr. Healey as Honorary architect. Six local firms submitted tenders of which the lowest was accepted. The building was to be erected in six months at a cost of 24,000 ticals. At the end of the year the work was nearing completion and there is no doubt that the contract will be carried out in a satisfactory manner. This permanent home has been made possible by the gifts of past no less than present members and its completion is a matter which affords the Council the liveliest satisfaction.

#### MEETINGS.

On July 7th a meeting of the Natural History Section took place at the Chulalongkorn University for the reading of papers and exhibition of specimens. Dr. McCormick Smith was elected Leader of the Section in place of Dr. Kerr, and the members present unanimously passed a resolution appreciative of the work Dr. Kerr had done on behalf of the Society particularly in the field of botany—"in which he had left an imperishable record." Mr. Godfrey explained a display of one hundred and fifty butterflies, Dr. McCormick Smith displayed a number of animal, bird and fish specimens and read a paper on the zoology of Koh Tao, Mr. C. J. House gave an address on a Siamese arrow poison.

On October 28th an Ordinary General Meeting of the Society took place at the Chulalongkorn University, with the President in the

Chair, when Mr. E. W. Hutchinson, a life-member of the Society, read two papers. These were entitled (1) The origin of the French Foreign Mission in Siam, and its connection with Constantine Phaulkon; and (2) The French plan of Lopburi and a new plan of Phaulkon's house. These papers dealing with an aspect of Siamese history of the XVII century, attracted a large and representative audience. In thanking the lecturer, the President remarked he had ransacked the available archives in Europe to gather his data.

An Ordinary General meeting of members was held on Wednesday, December 14th at the Chulalongkorn University when Lt. Colonel C. H. Stockley lectured on "Fauna Common to India and Siam," illustrated by 24 lantern slides. H. H. Prince Dhani, a Vice-President, was in the chair in the absence through illness of the President, and there was a very interested audience. Lt. Colonel Stockley has a considerable knowledge of the jungle country in the western part of Siam and gave a most entertaining address, at the conclusion of which a lively discussion took place on the subject of Schomburgk's deer and game preservation.

#### REPRINTING OF JOURNALS.

During the year the necessary reprinting of parts of the Journal has been continued and Vol. XXII part I has been completed, and part II is now in the press.

This will complete this work for the present, and there are now adequate stocks of all parts in the Library enabling the Society to furnish complete sets of its Journal, or copies of any part issued. Of each such reprinting one hundred copies have been made. A detailed price list was printed in Vol. XXV, part II of the Journal.

#### THE JOURNAL

Two parts of Volume XXV, each of over one hundred pages were issued during the year, part I, with many illustrations, was issued in January, and part II in September.

#### NATURAL HISTORY SUPPLEMENT.

The Society also published Vol. VII part 4 of the Natural History Supplement.

Mr. J. Burnay continued to act as Editor of the Journal, until his departure on leave towards the autumn of the year, when Prof. René Nicolas took over this duty. Mr. E. J. Godfrey, who had been assistant Editor-in-charge of the Natural History Supplement for some time, was appointed Editor of the Supplement.

#### FLORAE SIAMENSIS ENUMERATIO.

Volume II, part I of this work was completed early in the year. This work will exceed the number of parts originally planned, and the Council although making funds available for the publication of part 2 of Volume II, is seeking financial aid in order to ensure that this valuable work will be completed within a reasonable time.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

As mentioned in the last report the publication of Mr. le May's Handbook on the Coinage of Siam was proceeded with and a handsome edition of 250 copies was completed in October. 150 copies are bound in cloth and 100 copies in paper covers. This is now on sale as a publication issued under the Society's auspices.

The preparation of an Index to Vols. I to XXV of the Journal is almost completed. It has been decided by the Council that this Index will be available free to Members on written application to the Secretary.

Monsieur Parmentier's monograph on the collections in the National Museum in Bangkok and in the provincial Museums of Siam visited by him, is in process of being translated (from French to English) free of cost to the Society. It is proposed to issue the same as a number of the Journal.

#### EXCHANGE COMMITTEE.

The Exchange Committee have revised their lists from time to time and the copies of the Journal and Natural History Supplement distributed to various societies, etc., are now divided into two categories (a) a purely complimentary list, and (b) an actual exchange list.

#### EXCURSIONS.

The continuance of the general depression led the Agriculture,

Travel and Transport section to decide not to attempt to arrange any excursions for the time being.

To the regret of all who have worked with him in this Section, Mr. E. Wyon Smith, the Hon. Secretary, tendered his resignation in December owing to his forthcoming departure from the country.

#### THE LIBRARY.

Mr. W. R. S. Ladell continued to act as Honorary Librarian until he went on leave, when Mr. R. Lingat kindly agreed to act in his absence. The Library, which is steadily growing year by year, will be more suitably housed in the Society's new home.

Gifts during the year include three volumes on anthropology by Professor Sarasin; Siamese State Ceremonies by Dr. Quaritch Wales; and the necessary parts of the Burma Research Society's journal to complete the Society's set—a gift made in honour of the Burma Society's coming of age.

#### TRANSCRIPTION.

Following the receipt of the report of the Committee appointed by H. H. the Minister of Public Instruction to draft a uniform system for transcription from Siamese into Roman characters, the Council decided to publish this report in the Journal as well as the letter received from the Minister in this connection. This is to be accompanied by a prefatory note, in the hope that members of the Society may have suggestions to make which would prove helpful in the further consideration of this important question.

#### ACCOUNTS.

Expenditure has been heavy in 1932 but the Society may congratulate itself on having carried out its usual work and also publishing a further part of Craib's Flora and the Coinage volume without touching its Reserve Fund. Part of the expenditure on the Journal and on blocks for illustrations is carried over from the previous year when the money available for these items was underspent. This accounts for the reduction of Tcs. 700 in the balance carried forward. The income from subscriptions was somewhat below expectations; arrears proved more difficult to collect than

usual, but the Council hopes that the greater part of the amount recorded will be recoverable.

Early in the year, when Siam was on the gold standard, the Society was able to place its funds on fixed deposit at very good rates of interest. When money was required later on for the new building, it was found expedient to borrow from the bank to pay commitments rather than to sacrifice the interest accrued on the deposits. This is the explanation of the loan of Tes. 7,903 to be found in the Building Construction account.







## MEMBERSHIP.

The following changes have been recorded since June, 1932, when the last list was published, (Vol. XXV, p. 235).

## ELECTIONS.

1932.

August 3rd.—Messrs. P. Schweisguth, A. G. Lynch, J. C. Wood.

October 5th.—Mr. H. E. Novion.

November 2nd.—Mr. James Baxter.

December 7th.—Mr. D. M. N. Davidson, Mr. J. Kindness.

1933.

February 8th.—Rev. K. P. Landon.

March 15th.—Mr. W. A. Zimmerman, Dr. E. Nord, Mr. A. Rochat, Phya Rajawangsan, Miss M. Porter.

May 10th.—Mr. W. Fuhrhop.

July 12th.—Mr. H. S. Kennedy.

## DEATHS.

The death of the following members is recorded with regret :—

Mr. E. J. Godfrey, (June 1933)

Professor W. G. Craib, (Sept. 1933), Corresponding member.

## RESIGNATIONS.

1931 (additional)

Mr. J. M. Evans,

Mr. M. Gaillet,

Dr. Hurlimann.

1932.

Dr. Asmis,

Mr. W. M. Gilmore,

Mr. T. H. Nielsen,

H. H. Prince Aditya,

Mr. K. Gunji,

Dr. Poix,

Mr. C. A. Allen,

Mr. E. Hall-Patch,

Phya Prida Narubessr,

Dr. C. Bachman,

Mr. G. Hansen,

Phya Petchada,

Mr. H. P. Bagger,

Mr. J. K. Hanhart,

Phra Suvabhand,

Mr. L. Bohensky,

Mr. H. J. M. Huber,

VII day Adventists

Mr. O. Brolykke,

Mr. J. Mallin,

mission.

Mr. H. G. Deignan,

Mr. A. Marcan,

Rev. C. R. Simmons,

Mr. J. E. England,

Mr. K. Möhr,

Mr. W. Webster,

Mr. C. D. Gee,

Mr. E. C. Monod,

Gen. P. L. E. Warming.

Mr. J. C. Wood.

## REMOVALS.—(under Rule 8).

1933.

Mr. R. Cazeau, Mr. E. O'Neil Shaw, Phya Pracha Korakit Vicharn.

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